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Chief Editor
AJIT GHOSE, M. A.

Editor For Muhammadan Coins
R. G. GYANI



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SHAMIAWALA (BIJNOR DIST.) HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

[Plates I-II.]

In the year 1920 some 143 silver coins along with a number of fragmentary bits of scrap silver, weighing in all about $31\frac{1}{2}$ Tolas, were discovered in the village of Shamiawala, in Tahsil Najibabad, in the District of Bijnor, U.P. On removing the clay encrustations, it was found that there were only 139 complete coins, the remaining 4 pieces being blank pellets of silver of the size of the coins.

One of the coins was a big thin round piece, 9" in size, of a different fabric, probably a stray coin resembling the (11) Sūraseni type published on Plate XXXI of Numismatic Supplement, Vol. XLV. The remaining 138 were all small coins measuring from 3" to 5", with an average weight of 25.3 grains. They were mostly rectilineal, but a few were circular and they could be divided into 3 classes as described below:—

Class I, comprising 56 coins, bear the figure of a fish with 3 small dots, a small circle, and a Nandipada—all placed below the fish. These could be further subdivided into 3 types, having regard to the location of the dots, the small circles, and the Nandipada placed erect or aslant. The number of coins of this class is 56, and the average weight 25.46 grs. For illustration *vide* Pl. II-A, symbols Figs., 1, 2 and 3 and Pl. II-B, coins Nos. 1 to 3.

Class II, comprising 78 coins, is distinguished by the figure of an elephant with dots and Nandipada, facing left and right. These coins fall into eight different sub-classes, with or without a rider as illustrated on Pl. II-A, symbols Figs., 4 to 11 and Pl. II-B, coins Nos. 4 to 11, the average weight being 25.83 grs.

Class III comprises only 2 coins with the figure of a Nandi facing right, with 2 Nandipadas above, as illustrated on Pl. II-A, symbol Fig., 12; also on Pl. II-B, coin No. 12, the weight of each coin being 24.75 grs.

Two of the coins, one of Class I and one of Class II, were dissolved for quantitative chemical analysis.

A considerable quantity of scrap silver was found with the coins in the shape of a broken vessel with embossed design (Pl. I, Fig. A), small pellets of silver bullion (Pl. I, Fig. B), weighing

from 250 to 271 grains, three pieces of thin silver foils in shape of ornaments (Pl. I, Fig. C), pieces of silver wire of round, square and semi-circular sections (Pl. I, Fig. D), and small cut pieces of pellets (Pl. I, Figs. E and F), which convey the idea that the hoard belonged to a dealer in silver; this is supported by the presence of cut pieces of silver pellets. As no punches or other minting instruments were found with the hoard, it cannot be said that the collection of coins and the scrap silver were the property of a private coiner; neither could such a small quantity of material be called the remnant of a mint. That coin making in ancient India was a royal prerogative has been established by several passages from Kautilya's Arthaśāstra.

The heavy bold embossed portion of a broken cup or jug (Pl. I, Fig. A) is a specimen of the art of the silversmith of the period.

The 5 big pellets (Pl. I, Fig. B) are samples of silver bullion weighing over 270 grains, quite unlike the modern huge silver bricks of over a thousand ounces.

The 3 thin foils of silver (Pl. I, Fig. C) $2'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ with their edges turned back uniformly, and having small holes at the two ends, marked with a triangular design, appear to be ornaments for the forehead of that period. Such thin and fragile ornaments can hardly be used for personal decoration, and it is probable that they were merely ceremonial pieces.

As the average weight of the coins is 25.3 grains, (the heaviest piece weighing 27 grs.) they are apparently silver half Panas of 28 grains or 16 Ratis. The Rati standard of ancient India varied between 1.8 and 1.75 grains. Thomas and other scholars calculated the old Rati to be of 1.8 grs., while Dr. Bhandarkar came to the conclusion that it was of 1.75 grs., which is confirmed by my examination of over 2,000 silver punch-marked coins discovered in the Machhuatoli quarter of Patna, now in the Patna Museum, the majority of which were of the Mauryan period, all bearing the Mauryan symbol of hill and crescent (*vide* JRAS., London, July, 1936). This large hoard, examined at the Patna Museum, consisted of well-preserved coins of the Mauryan period, some of them showing the crystalline broken sections of chisel-cut coins, and others with edges clear sharp in mint condition. These give an average weight of a little below 56 grains, which means a Rati of 1.75 grs.

If the number of coins and the average weight of each of the three classes of coins be taken as an indication of the chronological sequence, then the two coins of Class III bearing the figure of a Nandi must be the earliest of the lot as their average weight

is only 24.75 grs., the deficiency from the full standard being as much as 3.25 grains. Coins of Class I with the fish symbol come next in order; and the most numerous, the coins of Class II, with an average weight of 25.83 grains, appear to be the latest in the hoard. Another noticeable fact is that the coins of the same sub-class appear to be punched with 2 or sometimes with 3 similar but slightly different punches, indicating that the coins were stamped by several workmen at a time, each using a separate punch of the same design, but a little different in execution.

The similarity of fabrication of these coins is a sure indication that they belong to a particular locality or dynasty. It is probable that they are the coins of three rulers of the same dynasty.

114 coins in the hoard are rectilineal, cut from thin bars or sheets of silver, only 24 of them are round, struck off from small flattened pellets, or round rods.

As all the coins are stamped on one side with a small punch, and there are no symbols on the reverse as seen usually on other types of punch-marked coins, the question arises whether they should be classed as punch-marked coins, or among the early one-sided die-struck coins, examples of which are known among Taxila copper coins, though none have yet come to light in silver. As other *Ardha-Panas* of small size in silver bearing a single large symbol on one side are known, it would be safer to put these coins as well under the category of silver punch-marked coins.

The three characteristic symbols occurring on these coins, viz., Nandi, elephant and Nandipada are found on punch-marked coins from very early times.

The figures on the coins are of a crude primitive style, the hoofs of the bulls and elephants being depicted by dots, and the peculiar mode of showing the tufts of hair at the tail ends of both the bull and the elephant by thick lines is archaic. Such figures can be compared with those on the early coins of Kosala which I ascribe to the pre-Nanda period, as well as on the early silver punch-marked coins of Mathurā which I attribute to the independent Surasena Kingdom of Mathurā in the 5th or early 4th century B.C., as mentioned in the Buddhist and Brahmanic literature;¹ these coins are, however, of a different standard weight, viz., of 45 grains, roughly 24 or 25 Ratis, and

¹ *JBORS.*, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 116; "*Śaśūnāka Chronology*" by K. P. Jayaswal.

thus belong to a period before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered these independent kingdoms in the 4th century B.C.

It may be pointed out here that the 1,059 silver punch-marked coins excavated at Taxila with coins of Alexander the Great and Philip Aridaeus "fresh from the mint" in 1924-1925 are of the Nanda period. Sir J. Marshall² thought these coins to be of Hindustan. Mr. Walsh³ was of opinion that they were of the Nanda period and some were a couple of centuries older than the coins of Alexander the Great. I have noticed many coins similar to Taxila coins are found mixed with local coins in every hoard discovered in Behar (Magadha) or the United Provinces and other places, showing that the early Nandas and after them the Mauryans introduced their imperial coinage of 32 Rati standard weight, bearing the conspicuous figures of sun and a six pointed wheel "Sadarchakra" in the early 5th century B.C.; hence their coins are found from one end of the country to the other. I, therefore, conclude that the present coins belong to the early 4th century B.C., before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered the Kurus who were then independent (about 366-338 B.C.). The coins were found in the District of Bijnor, which lies within the boundary of the ancient Brahmavarta or Kurukshetra region of the Kurus (*vide* Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Map of Bhāratavarsha, pp. 514-515).

The coins may be taken to be the local coins of Kurukshetra, when it was an independent kingdom, and before Mahāpadma Nanda conquered it about the middle of the 4th century B.C. The Paṇas of 32 Ratis and their halves were current then. It may be pointed out here that I have already assigned local silver punch-marked coins to different independent kingdoms of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries B.C., viz., to Kosala, Pañchāla, Surasena, Gandhāra, Kuntala, Saurāstra, and Andhra. (*vide*: Numismatic Supplement, Jubilee Number, XLVII, 1938).

The quantitative chemical analysis of coins of Classes I and II indicate a high percentage of silver in the alloy—about 80 per cent in coins of Class I and about 79.6 per cent. in the coins of Class II, copper and other impurities being nearly 20 to 20.4 per cent. respectively.

All the coins conform to 28 grains or 16 Ratis and are undoubtedly Ardha Paṇas; other hoards of Ardha Paṇas from different places are already known.

DURGA PRASAD.

² Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1924-25, pp. 47-8.

³ *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 614-615.

RARE OBLONG COINS FROM RAJGIR

[Plate III-A.]

A remarkable series of copper coins of oblong shape from Rajgir, the ancient Rājagriha, obviously issued at one and the same early period, appears to be a distinctly original contribution to ancient Indian coin types. That they are coins admits of little doubt as they have been found along with punch-marked and other early cast coins at Rajgir. For the same reason they must be considered to be of early date. In fact the uniform excellence of execution which distinguish these coins makes it probable that they are anterior to the rectangular cast coins with elephant and standard obverse and tree within railing accompanied by other symbols on the reverse, several varieties of which have been found at Rajgir as indeed in many other parts of Northern India, the execution of which in comparison is crude. The absence of any data makes it impossible to date the coins at present though systematic excavation at the site of ancient Rājagriha may help us to do so later on. For several weighty reasons I consider these extraordinary coins to be a series. They are of an uniform oblong shape and of the same size. In all of them the symbol figured on the coin is enclosed within a raised ornamental border formed by what look like the leaves of the date palm tree. It may be suggested that the border is formed of ears of corn but it is more likely that the border consists of date tree leaves. The date tree is found scattered throughout this part of the country and the leaves are to this day used as ornamental decorations of gateways etc., on festive occasions. The tree arch as a decorative motif is at least as old as Mohenjo Daro. The reverse side of all the coins is plain. An examination of the weight of different specimens in my cabinet shows that the coins fall into two groups—one group weighing approximately 51 grs. and the other consisting of thinner and lighter pieces weighing only about 31 grs. As regards weight also, therefore, these coins may be regarded as constituting a class by themselves. I give below a description of eleven varieties of this interesting and rare series which I have come across but before proceeding to do so I must correct an error in a recently published paper entitled "The Coins of Rajgir" the author of which has described them as "single-die coins". A careful examination of the coins, e.g., No. 2, shows that they are em-

phatically *not* die-struck but are cast coins of rare workmanship. Of the varieties I have examined and described below, four only were known to S. Singh Roy, the writer of the above-mentioned paper, and have been described by him (NS., No. XLVI, Art. 329). Mr. M. B. L. Dar informs me that he has found coins similar to No. 1 at the old site of Ramnagar in Bareilly District. This only shows how wide was the circulation of coins even in ancient times. Similarly I have found coins generally assigned to Taxila along with finds from Rājgir.

1. *Obv.*—Within a raised border formed by branches of the date palm a combination of four of the well-known symbols which have been variously described as sun and crescent, ball and crescent, taurine or Nandipada, and which it may be suggested is an elementary form of the *Triratna* as illustrated in Pl. III, 1.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 51 grs.

2. *Obv.*—Within border as in No. 1 a combination of four of the same symbols but two of them are one below the other and two on either side as illustrated in Pl. III, 2.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 31 grs.

3. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 an ornamental *Swastika* with the so-called taurine symbol on either side as illustrated in Pl. III, 3.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 28 grs.

4. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 an ornamental symbol, which is evidently the '*Triratna*' on a stand. An almost similar but more ornate symbol is to be found on the reverse of coins of Jishnu Gupta and Pasupati of Nepal (*vide* C.C.A.I., Pl. XIII, 7). Two so-called taurines on either side. The coin is illustrated in Pl. III, 4.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 52 grs.

5. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 a pair of scales with a rod on the r. side—*vide*: Pl. III, 5.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 31 grs.

6. *Obv.*—Within raised border as No. 1 an ornamental design in the shape of a volute with raised uncertain object on l., which may be only a defect in casting, as illustrated in Pl. III, 6. The design suggests a lotus bud with stalk in the form of a spiral.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $.55 \times .45$. Wt. 33 grs.

7. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 figure of a nude woman facing front as illustrated in Pl. III, 7, representing probably the *abbhisheka* of Lakshmi although the elephants on either side of the head are not distinct.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $.55 \times .45$. Wt. 51 grs.

8. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 stag standing facing l., taurine on l., as illustrated in Pl. III, 8. I have suggested above that the so-called taurine may be an elementary form of the *Triratna*, the most sacred of Buddhist symbols. The presence of the symbol on this coin lends support to this suggestion as the stag is also associated with Buddhism.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $.55 \times .45$. Wt. 51 grs.

9. *Obv.*—Within raised border as in No. 1 a lady, probably a queen, wearing what looks like a crown, seated with her legs stretched in front, holding some object, which does not look like a lotus on three specimens I have examined, in her right hand. A male figure is facing her with hands clasped. On some coins there is a curved line which looks like a tail and hence the figure has been supposed to be a monkey; but this is not certain as on one coin the line looks like a leg. The seated figure occupies the r. side and the other figure the l. of the coin which is illustrated in Pl. III, 9.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $.55 \times .45$. Wt. 30 grs.

10. S. Singh Roy illustrates in his article above referred to (N.S., Art. 329, Pl. No. 1, No. 4) a coin similar to No. 9 above but slightly smaller and with the figures transposed. As in the

case of the other three oblong coins described by him he unfortunately omits to give any information as regards the size or weight of the coin.

11. *Obv.*—Same as No. 5 but the rod is on the l. side.

Rev.—Plain.

AE.—S. $\cdot 55 \times \cdot 45$. Wt. 50 grs.

Nos. 2, 8 and 9 on Pl. III, are reproduced from coins in the cabinet of Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi; the remainder are in my own collection.

I have now acquired a small, irregular and much worn coin of type No. 8, weighing only 15 grs., which seems to be an exception to the series.

AJIT GHOSE.

A RARE GOLD COIN OF HUVISHKA

[Plate III-B]

The coin which is published¹ and discussed in this note is in the collection of Mr. C. J. Shah, M.A., and may be described as follows:

AV.

124.5 grains.

S. 0.8 inches.

Obv.—Half-length, nimbate figure of the King to left, rising from “clouds”, dressed in armour and round jewelled helmet (both indistinct because worn out), with flames coming out from his left shoulder (?), ‘club’ or ‘aṅkusa’, or an ‘ear of corn’ in the right hand, in the left a spear.²

Legend on the left: PAONANOPAO (OO ... the rest of the letters cut out in the die) i.e., Shaonano shao Ho (Veshki Koshano), “The King of Kings. Huvishka, the Kushān”.

Rev.—‘God of War’³ (ARES)⁴ nimbate standing to the right, wearing Greek type of helmet and armour, holding a spear in the right hand, and the left hand resting on shield.

Monogram 𑀧 to the right.

Legend (beginning on the right from above the monogram) PAO, (then the god’s head and going over and down to the left) PHOPO i.e., PAOPHOPO i.e., Shaoreoro = Iranian Shāhrewar.

¹ Pl. III-B.

² Cf. Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, Series III, Vol. XII, Bust type B, pl. ix.

³ As called by Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 79.

⁴ Smith, *Ibid.*, and Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, 1886, p. 148. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 1892, p. 46-7, agreed with the view which regarded this god as the God of Wealth and the Lord of Metals and equated him with the Avestan Ksatra-vairya and identified him with the Indian Airavira or Kuvera. Further, on p. 62, n. 14, he said that as the god and his wife Riddhi presided over metals, they were represented in armour.

(1) For two reasons it may be called a rare¹ coin of Huvishka: The 'Sharewar' type is not as common as some other types of Huvishka and the present coin is from a hitherto unpublished die. The British Museum² has two coins of this type with the god facing r., and one slightly different³ in which he faces l.

(2) In all published specimens, the god's name appears complete in a straight or curved line either on the left or on the right, whereas in our coin the name begins from the left, from above the monogram and ends on the right, a portion being on either side of the figure. This in fact is the really important feature of this coin.

It is interesting to note that the king looks taller and thinner on this coin than on the coins published by Smith,⁴ Gardner,⁵ Cunningham⁶ and Fleet.⁷ Our coin also seems to have been considerably used as the legend, king's figure, god's armour, and shield are rather indistinct due to wear and tear.

H. D. SANKALIA.

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 79. The Lahore Museum, when Whitehead wrote (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, 1914, p. 207), did not possess a single coin of this variety, nor has a coin of this type been published in any of the recognised journals since these catalogues were published.

² Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 148; pl. xxviii, 17 and 19; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii, 8-9.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii, 18; *Ibid.*, pl. xxii, 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pl. xii, 8, 10, 14, 15.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. xxiii, 9.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. ix and *JASB.*, Vol. xii, p. 434-35, figs. 2 and 3.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1908, pl. i.

SOME REMARKS ON THE COINS OF THE 'ANDHRA PERIOD

The Andhra period of ancient Indian history offers many interesting problems for study. In examining the coins and inscriptions associated with the Andhras one comes across such titles as *rājā*, *svāmi*, *rāstrapati*, e.g., *daksinapathapati*, *kṣtrapa*, *mahākṣtrapa* etc. In this connection the distinction between what we call a 'king' in English and a *rājā* should be borne in mind. A 'king' is an independent ruler whereas a *rājā* is not necessarily so. The title *rājā* should not therefore be translated as 'king'. Much confusion has resulted from this. The titles *mahārāja*, *rājādhirāja* and *mahārājādhirāja* on the other hand have often been used as epithets of sovereignty. At the present time there has been a degradation of these terms also so that *mahārājas* and *mahārājādhirājas* exist who are merely landlords.

It seems that during the Andhra period the titles *kṣtrapa* and *mahākṣtrapa* were originally used by provincial rulers of Parthian or Scythian descent acknowledging suzerainty of some paramount power. Very likely their relations with the paramount power consisted merely in the payment of tribute of some sort. They were free to mint their own coins, wage war against neighbouring provinces and act in any other way they liked. It is probable that a *kṣtrapa* was often subordinate to a *mahākṣtrapa* who was the direct tributary of the paramount power. A *mahākṣtrapa* might have several *kṣtrapas* under him. Sometimes a *kṣtrapa* would wage war on other *kṣtrapas* and usurp their dominions and, perhaps by paying a higher tribute to the paramount power, would be recognized as a *mahākṣtrapa*. *Mahākṣtrapas* and *kṣtrapas* often ruled contemporaneously. (*Rapson, E. J., Cat. of the Coins of the Andhras in the B.M., p. xxvii. n.*). It appears also that the paramount power did not bother itself as to who became the *kṣtrapa* or *mahākṣtrapa* of a particular province so long as it received the stipulated tribute.

In later periods, rulers of Indian descent also sometimes styled themselves *kṣtrapas* or *mahākṣtrapas* after having ousted rulers of Scythian descent from their possessions. Perhaps the association of these titles with a particular province was so firm owing to long continued rule by foreigners to whom the epithets properly belonged that when any Indian stepped into their place he found it more convenient to use the same designations in state matters as those of his predecessors. The facts collected about

the western satraps of the Andhra period by Rapson (*Op. cit.*, c, ci) would serve to support the validity of the above assumptions.

Rulers of different provinces under a paramount power in ancient India can be placed under different classes. In the first place, we might have kings who had lost their original independence as a result of aggrandisement of the paramount power and had become tributary to it. In describing Raghu's conquests, Kalidasa compares such defeated kings with the paddy plant which yields grains when uprooted and planted again. The conqueror who after defeating an independent king reinstated him as tributary has been called 'dharmavijayi' or the righteous conqueror. (*Raghuvamśa*, 4. 37-43). In the second place, provincial rulers of one paramount power might transfer their allegiance to another as a result of military conquest by the latter. Greek satrapies under Seleukus were transferred to Chandragupta after the defeat of the former. In the third place, special officials might be appointed by the paramount power to rule over certain provinces, e.g. a military commander might be appointed as a governor in a province liable to invasions by other powers (Kaniska's governors). Fourthly, princes of the royal blood and relations of the royal family might be appointed irrespective of their merits in certain provinces. Sometimes minor princes occupied the position of provincial rulers under the protection of some elderly person of the royal blood. Khāravēla's inscription records that he was a Yuvarāj at sixteen.

It is conceivable that a prince of the royal line in his capacity as a provincial ruler might come into conflict with a neighbouring governor under the same paramount power just as different kṣtrapas might fight among themselves and it is further conceivable that the paramount power would remain neutral in such fights so long as it received its revenues from one party or another. The posts of provincial governors, except in the cases of the princes of the royal blood who would succeed to the throne of the paramount ruler, were generally hereditary. An examination of the coin legends and inscriptions of the Andhra period shows that the prefix "śri" was used only by persons of the royal family. The satraps, although they called themselves 'rājās', did not put the honorific 'śri' before their names; on the other hand we find legends of royal personages in which only 'śri' occurs and no 'rājā'; the title 'rājā' without the 'śri' was very likely confined to provincial rulers only and when it is found associated with a 'śri' it is even then no bar to the supposition that the person of the royal blood might have been a provincial

governor at the time the coin bearing the legend was struck or the inscription carved.

The provincial rulers during the Andhra period issued coins and it is quite likely that a prince of the royal blood also issued coins in his own name during the period of his provincial governorship. Rapson writes—"Indian coin types are essentially local in character. At no period with which we are acquainted, whether in the history of ancient or of mediaeval India, has the same kind of coinage been current throughout any of the great empires. Each province of such an empire has, as a rule, retained its own peculiar coinage, and this with so much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of the coins, that the main characteristics of these have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty but even by the transference of power from one race to another." (Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xi, xii). The obvious conclusion that can be drawn from the facts noted by Rapson is that the paramount power never troubled itself with the issue of coins—a function which was left to the discretion of the provincial rulers. The central government, it seems, before the Guptas at any rate, did not attach much importance to the minting of coins and in the case of big empires it is doubtful whether any special central imperial coin was ever issued. This would explain the absence of any coin bearing the name of emperors such as Asoka on the one hand and the great preponderance of coins belonging to the satraps on the other. The conservatism in coin types that Rapson has noticed would make any guess regarding the age of a particular type of script on any coin in the absence of dates a hazardous game.

In view of the indifference of the central government to provincial coins it is extremely unlikely that the imperial power would think of restriking any coin to commemorate any victory as has been supposed in the case of the restruck coins of Nahapāna. It is practically impossible for any imperial power to call back all coins of a particular type in circulation merely for the purpose of restriking them. This method of commemorating a victory, to say the least, can only attain partial success. Then again in considering the problem of the restriking of coins one has to remember that of three Andhra kings Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Viliṅgākura, Māṭhariputra Sivalakura and Gautamiputra Viliṅgākura, all apparently belonging to the same family, each of the last two restruck coins of his predecessor or predecessors. There is no evidence to show that this was done to commemorate any victory of one over the other or others.

Double struck coins belong to the same category as restruck coins. Such coins of Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura and of Gautamiputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi have been found. Restruck punch-marked coins have also been found suggesting the possibility that the restriking was done when the original markings got effaced by usage. (*Walsh: Punch-marked silver coins; their standard of weight, age and mint, JRAS., 1937, Apr.*). In view of these considerations the argument that restriking of a coin by another king is a proof of military victory on his part loses much of its force. It is difficult to say in the absence of any definite information what might have led to the restriking of particular coins. The hypothesis of military victory is only one possibility among many, and this hypothesis fails altogether when applied to double struck coins and to restriking by successive kings belonging to the same family. It is probable that just as we have special coronation medals struck at the time of accession of kings at the present time, coins were similarly restruck in ancient times on special occasions for distribution as alms etc. This would explain the presence of coins that have been restruck by a king of the same family as the one issuing the original coin and also of double struck coins bearing the same legend of the same king twice. This explanation will be especially applicable to those cases in which there is no sign of any effacement of the original stamping due to usage. Effacement of the original markings, whether as a result of usage or of any other factor, will very likely account for restriking in a certain percentage of cases as has already been stated.

The denominational values of ancient coins were very likely in the majority of cases greater than their intrinsic values. If anybody was fortunate enough to discover a hoard of coins belonging to a former reign in those days the only way to utilize the coins profitably would be to get them restamped with the current legend by the state mint and release them for circulation. Melting the coins would not be a business proposal. It is mentioned in Manusamhitā and Mitākṣarā that if any person, other than a learned brahmin, discovers a hidden treasure the king shall appropriate one-sixth or one-twelfth of the amount. A learned brahmin discoverer of a hoard may keep the whole of it for himself. If anybody fails to intimate the discovery of a treasure hoard to the state he shall forfeit the whole of it, and the king shall punish the discoverer suitably. (*Manu. 8. 35. 39. Mitākṣarā-Vyavahārādhyaya 34, 35*). It is therefore quite likely that in the event of a discovery of a hoard of coins, not current

at the time, the government would restamp the coins, take a part of the same for its own coffers and give the rest to the discoverer.

Since the title 'ajā' was very likely associated with provincial governorship any inscription or coin legend bearing that title conjointly with the royal prefix 'Śri' would indicate that it was executed during the period of provincial reign of the prince. In the case of Yajña Śri of the Purāṇas, about whose identification with Gautamiputra Svāmi Śri Yajña Śātakarṇi of the inscriptions not much doubt exists, the Purāṇas record a regnal period of nine years only while we find from inscriptions that he reigned for at least twenty seven years. A long period of provincial rule was not likely to be followed by another long period of imperial reign except in the case of a prince who happened to have ruled as a minor under the guardianship of somebody else during his governorship. If we assume that Yajña Śri had been a provincial ruler before he became a king and that the inscription mentioning the 27th year of his reign (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. LII) was incised during this period we can get the total period of Yajña Śri's reign by adding the minimum of 27 years as governor to 9 years as an imperial ruler as mentioned in the Purāṇas. There is the other possibility that the inscription was carved while Yajña Śri was an imperial ruler; this would give a minimum of 18 years as the period of his provincial reign. The large variety of the coins that Yajña Śri struck is, from this standpoint, to be considered as a corroborative evidence of his long period of provincial governorship at different places. As mentioned before no coin of Yajña Śri is to be expected for the period of his reign as the paramount lord.

Gautamiputra Śri Yajña Śātakarṇi like his illustrious ancestor and namesake Gautamiputra Śri Śātakarṇi, the 6th Andhra king, was a powerful monarch. The variety of his coins and the extent of their provenance clearly show his superior position among the Andhra kings. For some reason which cannot be definitely specified restruck and double struck Andhra coins begin to make their appearance from the time of the Viṣivāyakuras downwards. The restruck coins of Nahapāna, however, are generally ascribed to Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the sixth king, wrongly supposed to be the 23rd king. I have an impression that these coins, all of which, without any exception, are to be traced to a single hoard viz., the Joghalembhi find, were restruck at the time of Yajña Śri. Many years had elapsed at the time of Yajña Śri since Nahapāna issued his coins. Somebody found the hoard and had a portion of them restruck in order to be able to

use the coins. That there was no original coin of Gautamiputra or of anybody else in the hoard is a strong proof of the fact that the restamping was done after the hoard had been found. Nahapāna's coins seem to have been restruck with different dies. It is likely that in order to avoid the confiscation of any part of the hoard by the state under the treasure-trove act of the times the discoverer was getting the coins re-stamped in small quantities in different places representing them to be his heirloom. This must have been a slow process. The discoverer died leaving the hoard hidden, and a part of it unstamped. Scott writes:—"The great variety of dies used in making the counter impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places". (*Rev. H. R. Scott: The Nasik-Joghaltembbi Hoard of Nahapāna's coins* J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXII., p. 241). Rapson writes:—"The latter class (restruck coins of Nahapāna), which comprises more than two-thirds of the total number of coins found, has, struck over the ordinary types of Nahapāna, the Andhra types, obv, 'Chaitya with inscr'.: rev. 'Ujjain symbol', which appear together on lead coins of Puṣumāvi, Śiva Śrī, Chanda Sati and Śrī Yajña, but which had not previously been found associated on coins of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. So far as is known at present, these types were not used for any independent silver coinage, but were simply employed for the purpose of re-issuing the existing currency" (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. lxxxix).

The facts noted above will be best explained by the supposition that Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi did not issue any coin having ascended the imperial throne without a probationary period of provincial governorship. On the other hand Yajña Śrī had a long period of provincial reign viz., 18 years or more, and it is he that is responsible for all the coins bearing the legend 'Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi'. The conch-shell symbol, if it has been correctly deciphered, that exists in the coin ascribed to Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. 17) is peculiar to Gautamiputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi; this is another argument in favour of the assertion that Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarṇi, the 6th king, the so-called conqueror of Nahapāna, did not mint any coin at all.

I should like to point out that king Kṛṣṇa of the Nasik inscription (Lüders No. 1144) and of the coin (*Rapson, op. cit.*, p. 48) may not after all be the second Pauranic king of the same

name. There is another Kṛṣṇa apparently of the Satavāhana sub-clan, in the Pauranic list viz., No. 16 who has been called Nēmikṛṣṇa (Vāyu) or Goraksakṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa—Wilson). He may very well be the person mentioned in the inscription and the coin. Martin has described two coins of Puḷumavi with the legends 'Siva Siri Puḷumavisa' and 'Vasiṭhiputa Śiva Siri Puḷumavisa' respectively. (JASB. Num. Sup., 1934. No. 318. p. 61. N). These coins raise grave doubts about the hitherto accepted identifications of the several Puḷumavis appearing in the Pauranic list; in view of this find, ascribing a particular coin to a particular Puḷumavi becomes a very difficult if not an impossible task. There is nothing to show in the coins themselves whether all of them that have the legend Puḷumavi belong to the same king or to different kings bearing the same name. The name found in Martin's coins 'Śivaśri' suggests the later Andhras. According to the Anandāsram Matsya the name of the 25th king is Śivaśri Puḷoma; Viṣṇu calls him Sātakarṇi Śivaśri, the Radcliff manuscript calls him simply Śivaśri. Very likely the coins with the legend 'Vasiṭhiputra Śiva Śri Puḷumavi' are to be ascribed to this king. K. N. Dikshit has lately described a copper coin with the legend 'Rano Śivaśiris Āpilakasa' (JRASB. Num. Sup. XLVII. pp. 93, 94 N). This coin may be ascribed to the eighth king tentatively.

GIRINDRASEKHAR BOSE.

WAS JĪVADĀMAN A MAHĀKṢATRAPA MORE THAN ONCE ?

[Plate III-C.]

The relations between Jīvadāman and his uncle Rudrasimha I are still shrouded in mystery. The numismatic data on the point are insufficient and inconclusive and have given rise to divergent interpretations. Rapson has advanced the view that Jīvadāman was a Mahākṣatrapa more than once. There is no doubt that he was occupying this exalted position during the Śaka years 118 and 119. Numismatic evidence is clear on the point and has been accepted by all. Rapson however holds that it is almost certain that he was a Mahākṣatrapa in the Śaka year 100, and that it is very probable that he had again acquired this high office during the years 110-12. He admits that there are no coins found so far which prove definitely that Jīvadāman was a Mahākṣatrapa during this period; but since his uncle Rudrasimha issues coins during this period only with the title Kṣatrapa, it may be presumed that he was reduced to this lower position by the successful reassertion of power by Jīvadāman. Rapson recognises the possibility of a foreign power reducing Rudrasimha to a subordinate position, but holds that this is not probable.

Dr. Bhandarkar and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit dissent from this view. They attribute the degradation of Rudrasimha during the years 110-112 to the successful invasion of Išvara-datta Ābhira; they doubt whether Jīvadāman was at all a Mahākṣatrapa during the years 100-103. They point out that even Rapson concedes the possibility of a unit or decimal figure, or both, having vanished from the coin in question. They therefore hold that Jīvadāman became a Mahākṣatrapa only after the year 118.

If, however, we examine the coins concerned very carefully from Rapson's Catalogue, Plate XI, we are driven to the conclusion that Jīvadāman must have been a Mahākṣatrapa during two periods separated from each other by a fairly long interval. It is no doubt true that it is not impossible that a figure for a unit or a decimal or both may have disappeared from the coin No. 288, Pl. XI, of Rapson's Catalogue; this mere possibility is, however, altogether negatived by the evidence of features, which has escaped the attention of both Dr. Bhandarkar and

Prof. Rapson. Coins Nos. 289 to 291 of Rapson's Catalogue were issued during the years 118-119; the features of Jivādāman as shown on them, are decidedly old-looking and careworn (see Plate III-C, 2-3.). On the other hand, on the coin number 288, Jivādāman is portrayed as an energetic, full blooded and youthful ruler, whose age could not then have been more than 25 or 30 at the most (see Plate III-C, 1.). The age worn features on the coins issued during the year 118-119 show that Jivādāman then could not have been less than 45. It is thus clear that the coin No. 288 must have been issued at least 15 to 20 years earlier than the coins Nos. 289-291, which are definitely known to have been issued sometimes during the period 100-103. It is, therefore, hardly possible that it could have had any figure for the decimal.

Can we rely on the evidence of features for determining this important point? Were features so accurately portrayed by Kṣatrapa mint-masters as to warrant a conclusion about the age of the monarchs at the time of the issue of the coins concerned? The question has to be answered in the affirmative at least as far as the early period of the Kṣatrapa dynasty is concerned. Rudraśiṃha I ruled as a Mahākṣatrapa for about 15 years with an interval of two years. His features on the coins issued in the years 105-6 are decidedly much younger than those on his coins issued in 118 or 119 (See Rapson, Pl. XI, Nos. 295-6, and 320, 321). Rudrasena I ruled for 23 years; we find similar difference in features between his early and late coins (Rapson, *Ibid*, Pl. XII, cf. No. 328 issued in the year 121 with No. 362 issued in the year 139).

The evidence of features of the bust thus proves that Jivādāman was a Mahākṣatrapa early in his life during the period 100-103, when he was a young man of about 30. It is clear that he was superseded in 103 by his uncle Rudraśiṃha I, who continued to keep him out of his inheritance down to the year 118. It would appear that he died in that year, and then only it became possible for Jivādāman to ascend the throne once more as a Mahākṣatrapa. Whether during the period 110-112 Rudraśiṃha was reduced to the subordinate rank of a Kṣatrapa by Jivādāman or by Īśvaradatta Ābhira is a question that can be satisfactorily solved only by further discoveries of coins.

A. S. ALTEKAR.

IMPORTANT COINS FROM BARODA STATE

[Plate IV.]

The object of this paper is to place before scholars information regarding the varieties of pre-Muhammadan Indian coins so far discovered in the state including some new types of coins that the Archæological Department of Baroda has come across and their find-spots. Some of the coins are, as far as I can ascertain, quite new and not met with in any of the published catalogues of Indian coins. Such coins I have tentatively classed as tribal and a full description of them is given at the end so that more experienced numismatists may be enabled to pronounce their opinion about them. Baroda yielded ancient coins, especially of the Western Kṣatras, as far back as 1876, when they were found while digging the foundation of the New Central Jail and the Baroda College. The inauguration of the Archæological Department in Baroda under the kind patronage of H.H. the late Maharaja Sayajirao III and his enlightened Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, has given an added stimulus to the scientific study of coins and other archæological finds in Baroda. The present article is due to the opportunities I had of studying the pre-Muhammadan coins under my *Guru*, Dr. Hirānanda Śāstri, the head of the Baroda Archæological Department. The coins from Amreli were secured by Dr. Śāstri either by excavation or purchase, and those from Kāmrej (Navasari District), the ancient Kamanè of Ptolemy (*cir.* 150 A.D.), mainly by presentation. Amreli is head-quarters of the *taluk* of that name of the Baroda State and is situated in southern Kāthiāwād. As elsewhere the rainy season brings antiquities to the surface of ancient sites in this locality and enthusiastic local collectors of antiquities, like Mr. Prataprai Mehta, have been known to store such finds for a very long period. This place has yielded us 2 Avanti or Ujjain coins, an Andhra (?), piece (?), several silver, copper, potin and lead coins of the Western Kṣatras and a hoard of 2,000 silver coins of Kumāragupta I. Of these the Avanti and Kṣatrapa coins are important finds. The find of the former coins at Amreli is unique as Avanti coins have so far not been obtained in Saurāṣṭra, though at least under Valabhi rule Saurāṣṭra and Ujjain are known to have been under one rule. Even in the Maurya and later days Ujjain was the seat of the viceroyalty governing the Western provinces including Kāthiāwād. These coins are assigned roughly to about 200

B.C. Among the Kṣatrapa coins found at Amreli there are silver coins of Rudrasena I, one silver piece of Viśvasiṃha and 2 silver coins of Svāmi Rudrasena III. The rest are either square lead pieces of Svāmi Rudrasena III, or nameless potin coins of Vīradāman (*cir.* Śaka 157) and a few copper coins of a totally new variety. A good many square lead pieces are defaced and blank on both the sides. In shape and weight they definitely resemble the known lead pieces of Svāmi Rudrasena III. Although Āndhra rule was established over Sorath or Kāthiāwād for a short time, as is evidenced by the Nasik cave inscription of Queen Balaśri, it is not possible in my opinion, to attribute these coins to the Āndhras as no Āndhra coins of similar shape and weight are known. It is safer to attribute them to Svāmi Rudrasena III. Important Kṣatrapa coins are described in detail in this paper.

Kāmrej is the head-quarters of a *taluk* of that name of the Navasari District of the Baroda Raj. It is situated on the banks of the Tāpi about 25 miles from its mouth. Kāmrej and another town named Kāthor near it have given us coins of many varieties. Indeed Kāmrej must have been an important trade centre, perhaps next to Bhṛigukaccha, where currency of sorts was used. Ptolemy mentions it as Kamanē and Kamanijja is its name according to the Rāshtrakūṭa grants. The earliest coins secured from this place are 17 punch-marked coins or *Kārṣāpaṇas*. Some of them are of silver and the rest of copper. They are either circular or square in shape. They can be assigned to the later period of punch-marked coins which are generally assigned to *cir.* 300 B.C. The other varieties found here consist of Avanti coins, rectangular cast coins, anomalous circular cast coins, Āndhra pieces, Kṣatrapa coins, Traikūtaka, Gupta and Valabhi varieties, Gadhajayas and 27 unassignable coins, which have been tentatively classed as tribal. The coins of the last variety cannot be ascribed to any known dynasty. They have on either side symbols not met with elsewhere.

The twenty-six coins described below and illustrated in the plate are of rare types.

I. Avanti or Ujjain coins:—

- Pl. IV, 1. Æ; 30 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—A vase; railing of a tree.

Rev.—*Svastika* with bars attached to the ends of the cross bars, turned to the left.

This turn to the left is generally considered inauspicious. The *Svastika* is a very ancient symbol and can be traced back to the Indus Valley

Civilization period. We know of punch-marked Avanti and other coins having a *Svastika* with a turn to the right. As far as I can ascertain this coin and the coin No. 9 described below are the only examples of later coins showing the *svastika* symbol with a turn to the left. This turn to the left was in vogue in pre-historic times as is evident from a majority of the Mohenjo-Daro seals (Marshall, Sir J., Mohenjo-Daro, Pl. XIV, 502, 508, 506 and 515).

Pl. IV, 2. Æ; 60 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—A three-headed standing deity with a staff in the right hand and a *kamandalu* in the left—god Mahākāla (?); tree to the right.

Rev.—Part of 'taurine' symbol; a frog with long nails and without the bulging head.

The three-headed deity and the tree are to be seen on the obverse of a small circular coin illustrated by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. X. 6, and the frog is observed in the same book Pl. X. 13. So our square coin gives us a new type with the obverse and the reverse combined from two different coins in one. We see a frog represented in some Mohenjo-Daro seals, e.g., CXVIII, No. 10 of Vol. III of Sir John Marshall's book, and on punch-marked coins. Thus again ancient pre-historic traditions are continued in the Avanti coins. See coin No. 1 above.

Pl. IV, 3. Æ; circular; 29 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Hill; dots; crescents; a trident on a base—to its staff is added the sharp edge of an axe. (Cf. *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XII. 12).

Rev.—Dotted circular border; dots; tree, etc.

Pl. IV, 4. Æ; sq.; 14 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Sun-symbol consisting of arrow-heads attached to the central boss; railing of a tree to its right.

Rev.—*Svastika* with crescents attached to the ends of the bars turned to the right.

The symbol on the obverse is found on late punch-marked coins and Mr. Durga Prasad calls it a *śaḍara-chakra*.

Pl. IV, 5. Æ; sq.; 37 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the obverse we have a three-headed deity, pos-

sibly Mahākāla, with a staff in the right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left—it is now not visible.

Rev.—On the *reverse* we have the Ujjain symbol with crosses in circles.

This coin is noteworthy on account of the combination of crosses with the plain usual Ujjain symbol. But for this feature it resembles the coin in *CAI*. Pl. X, 6.

Pl. IV, 6. Æ; sq.; 71 grs.; Kāmrej. Cf. *CAI*. Pl. X, 5.

Obv.—Three-headed deity with a crescent-topped staff in his right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left; tree to the right; some indistinct symbols.

Rev.—3 'taurine' symbols; part of a frog.

Pl. IV, 7. Æ; cir.; 32 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* of this circular coin we have a human figure squatting in the oriental fashion beside a tree surrounded by a railing. Below the figure is probably a seat.

Rev.—On the *reverse* we have a circular border of the 'taurine' symbols; a circle; inside the circle there is the Ujjain symbol in the circles of which there are dots. Taurine symbols alternate with the circles or dots of the Ujjain symbol.

Whereas in the coin described by Cunningham in *CAI*. Pl. X, 10, the tree in railing is to the right of the figure, in our coin it is to its left. Cunningham's coin shows no circular border of the taurine symbols. Thus this coin is an interesting new type.

Pl. IV, 8. Æ; sq.; 42 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* of this coin we see a man squatting and to his left is a tree within railing. There are some indistinct symbols.

Rev.—On the *reverse* there is the Ujjain symbol with *bindus* or dots in its circles.

Pl. IV, 9. Æ; cir.; 21 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—On the *obverse* is a *svastika* with part of dotted border.

Rev.—On the *reverse* we have a vase in a border of dots or *bindu-mālā*. Here as in coin No. 1 the bars attached to the intersecting lines are turned to the left.

II. Anonymous Cast Coins.

Pl. IV, 10. Æ; cir.; 33 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—3-arched *chaitya* with a crescent above.

Rev.—Elephant facing left with a rider on its back.

The main interest of this coin is that the rider is clearly seen and this feature had not been noticed before either by Cunningham or Smith.

III. Kṣatrapa Coins.

Both Amreli and Kāmrej have given us new and interesting specimens of Kṣatrapa coins. I notice here only important pieces:

Pl. IV, 11. Viradāman (?); potin; 13 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Defaced.

Rev.—Traces of a *chaitya*; wavy line; date 157.

Pl. IV, 12. Viradāman (?); potin; 19 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Defaced; faint traces of an elephant.

Rev.—3-arched *chaitya*; wavy line; date 158.

These two interesting coins were purchased at Amreli. Though they bear no name of the king, the dates read would show that they belong to the reign of Kṣatrapa Viradāman. Prof. Rapson on pp. 122-23 of his *Catalogue of Indian Coins: Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas* has described similar coins and has remarked that they belong to a period after 158 (= 236 A.D.). He had not succeeded in reading a date on any of the coins he has described. But, eminent numismatist as he was, he has ascribed with remarkable accuracy the coins to 158 and after of the Śaka era. In foot-note 2 on page 122 he remarks—"In place of the date some meaningless dots appear in the exergue." The coins described by me have a defaced obverse and consequently fail to show the elephant described by Rapson. But the reverse is quite clear and I have read the dates which to Rapson appeared as dots in the exergue. The earliest date read by me is 157 which is one year earlier than 158 after which Rapson has proposed to date this type of coins.

Pl. IV, 13. S. Rudrasena III.; lead; 9 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing left.

Rev.—Hill with clusters of stars on both sides and over the top; date at the bottom reads 28—.

Here and in coin No. 15 below the bull on

the *obverse* is seen facing left. In the published coins of this king the bull is seen facing right only. This is an interesting feature which makes this coin of a new type.

Pl. IV, 14. S. Rudrasena III.; lead; 50 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing right; Sun over its back; wavy line at the bottom.

Rev.—Hill; crescent over its top; wavy line at the bottom; and date below it reads 291.

Pl. IV, 15. S. Rudrasena III.; lead; 48 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing left.

Rev.—Hill, stars etc.

• Pl. IV, 16. Svāmī Rudrasena III (cf. Rapson, Pl. XVII. 889-890) Lead; 39 grs. Kāmrej.

Obv.—Humped bull standing facing right; sq. border of dots; a crescent and two unidentified symbols above the bull.

• Rev.—*Chaitya* or hill; wavy line; the Sun and the Moon; a *triśūla*; dotted border; date below *Chaitya* 28—. This addition of a *triśūla* on the reverse makes this coin interesting and it is, therefore, of a new type.

Pl. IV, 17. S. Rudrasena III.; Æ; 21 grs.; Amreli.

Obv.—Bull facing right.

Rev.—Dotted square border; 3-arched *Chaitya*; stars; wavy lines; traces of date. [2]8—.

This is a rare copper coin. From the date read it would be seen that it belongs to the reign of Svāmī Rudrasena III, and it resembles in its symbols the lead coins of that king. No copper coins of this king are known. For similar lead coins see Rapson's *Catalogue of Indian Coins: Āndhras and Western Kṣatrapas*, Plate XVII, Nos. 389, 390. Copper square coins are illustrated on Plate XII, Nos. 326-327 of the same work. The essential difference is that in our coins the bull faces right, while there it faces front. Those coins are described by Rapson as without name and date and assigned to a much earlier period, i.e., the second half of the second century A.D. The date of our coin partially read and its resemblance to the lead coins lead me to attribute it to Svāmī Rudrasena III.

Pl. IV, 18. Kṣatrapa. Æ; 49 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Six-peaked hill with a crescent above it; date indistinct.

Rev.—The Sun at the centre with legend in *Brāhmī* round it:—*Rajño Mahākṣatra*... This is a rare type of Kṣatrapa coin with a six-arched hill and the Sun symbol.

IV. Unassignable or Tribal Coins.

Pl. IV, 19. Æ; cir.; 16 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Sun symbol.

Rev.—Legend in *Brāhmī* "*Parama*". The Sun-symbol is found in punch-marked coins also. The *Brāhmī* of the legend is of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Pl. IV, 20. Potin; rectangular; 79 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Sun-symbol as on the Ujjain coins; bull to its left facing right.

Rev.—Defaced.

Pl. IV, 21. Potin; sq.; 61 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Wheel or *dharmachakra* (?); square dotted border. This symbol is found on Punch-marked coins also.

Rev.—Square dotted border and circular spot or dot in relief.

Pl. IV, 22. Potin; sq.; 59 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—A squatting female in dotted circular border.

Rev.—Dotted square border with some floral design inside.

Pl. IV, 23. Æ; sq.; 80 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Horse facing right with a *svastika* over its head.

Rev.—Blank.

Pl. IV, 24. Æ; circular; 17 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—*Śaṅkha* in the centre, and some illegible legend round it.

Rev.—Dotted circular border with the word '*Charitra*' in *Brāhmī* inside it.

Pl. IV, 25. Æ; cir.; 27 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Dotted and plain circular borders, with a swan inside.

Rev.—Dotted circular border with a *trīśūla* at the centre.

Pl. IV, 26. Æ; sq. 48 grs.; Kāmrej.

Obv.—Dotted square border with a flower inside.

Rev.—Dotted square border with probably a crude representation of a man inside.

A. S. GADRE.

A UNIQUE HALF DINĀR OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

[Plate V-A.]

A few months back this coin was offered to and acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum. It is a half piece of Chandragupta II, Archer type. It is in a good state of preservation and on closer and detailed examination, it is found to be a genuine piece. The technique as well as the workmanship is quite up to the mark and there are signs of ample wear and tear on both sides.

Weight—57·5 Grs. Size—·6.

Obv.—King standing left, nimbate, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right. Garuḍa standard on left. Legend 'Chandra' with letters one below the other under left arm between the string and the body.

Rev.—Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in left hand. Lower stroke of 'Kra' of 'Śrī Vikrama' near the left elbow.

Smaller denominations of coins are to be had in India both before and after the Gupta coinage and their sudden disappearance during the Gupta period is almost inexplicable, the more so because full coins are to be had in such large numbers throughout the limits of the Gupta empire. It was believed that most probably Gupta princes never issued smaller denominations. I was hesitating a lot before putting this coin before the numismatic world. I wrote to some of my friends, who are either collectors of Gupta coins or have specialised in them. Mr. Durgā Prasād informs me that half dinārs of Kumāragupta, horseman type, are known and one such is with Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh of Benares.¹ All others have expressed their ignorance of the existence of half dinārs of this type. Unfortunately I could not get the specimen of Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh and hence I am unable to give any particulars of that coin.

G. V. ACHARYA.

¹ Mr. Śrī Nāth Sāh's coin is not a half dinar as the weight of the piece is the same as of the average Gupta gold coin, though the size is about half the usual size, it being a thicker coin.—Ed., JNSI.

A NEW VARIETY OF THE LION SLAYER TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

[Plate V-B.]

The Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II forms such an interesting series among Gupta coins that any variety unnoticed before is worth recording. In Numismatic Supplement No. XLVI, Art. 332, II, I drew attention to the "Dagger variety" of Samudragupta's Standard type. I have since acquired a beautiful specimen of Chandragupta II's Lion Slayer type, Class I, var. *a*, in which the king is represented as wearing a dagger aslant on his right side. Particulars of the coin are given below.

AV. S. .8. Wt. 123 grains.

Obv.—King standing dressed in waist cloth and sash and wearing jewellery, with dagger aslant at waist, left hand holding bow and right stretching bow string, lion falling backward to r.

Inscr.—*Chandra*.

Rev.—*Sinhavāhini* (Pārvati seated on lion), holding noose in r. and cornucopia in l. hand, lion facing l.

Inscr.—*Sinhavikramah*.

Symbol on l., above a row of five dots, cut.

AJIT GHOSE.

GOLD COINS OF THREE KINGS OF THE NALA DYNASTY.

[Plate V-C.]

These coins are from a hoard which was discovered in 1939 at the village Edengā in the Konḍegaon¹ *tahsil* of the Bastar State in the Eastern States Agency. Some coins of the hoard were melted away by a goldsmith before the State authorities came to know of the discovery. Ultimately thirty-two coins were recovered, all of which were kindly sent for examination to the Central Museum, Nagpur, by Mr. E. C. Hyde, I.C.S., Administrator of the Bastar State. But for the prompt steps taken by Mr. Hyde, this unique hoard would have been completely lost to us. The Curator of the Museum very kindly placed the coins at my disposal for publication.

All the thirty-two coins are in a state of excellent preservation. They are round in shape and are manufactured from thin sheets of gold. They are all single-die coins, with the device and the legend embossed in relief on the obverse. The reverse is blank. According to their size, the coins fall into two groups—the larger ones, which number ten, measure from 20 to 21 millimeters in diameter and weigh from 19.7 to 24.6 grains each, while the smaller ones, twenty-two in number, are about 15 millimeters in diameter and weigh about 7½ grains each. The space on the obverse of each coin is divided into two parts by lines, from one to three in number, drawn diameterwise. Above these appear the figures of the humped bull (Nandi) and the crescent and below the legend of the king who issued it. The figure of the bull is very beautifully executed especially on the coin of Bhavadatta. From the devices and legends on these coins they can further be classified as follows:—

I. Coins of Varāharāja

(A) Larger size—Here two types can be distinguished—

Type (i)—Six coins—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 19.7 grs.

Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing left with the crescent in front; below, the legend *Śri-Varāharāja* in a horizontal line in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 1.

Type (ii)—One coin—Av. S. 20 mm., W. 20.2 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right, with the crescent above its back. Below, legend as above. Plate V-C, 2.

(B) Smaller size—

Twenty-two coins—Av. S. 15 mm., W. 7.7 grains. Obv.—Device as in Type (i) of the larger size. Legend: *Śri-Varāha*.

Here two issues can be differentiated according to the shape of the crescent. Plate V-C, 3-4.

II. A coin of Bhavadatta

(A). Larger size—

One coin—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 24.6 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right with the crescent behind it; below, the legend *Śri-Bhavadattarājasya* in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 5.

III. Coins of Arthapati

Larger size—Two coins. Here also two types can be distinguished—

Type (i)—One coin—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 23.2 grs.
Obv.—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, a couchant humped bull facing right with the crescent in front; below, the legend *Śri-Arthapatirājasya* in a horizontal line in box-headed characters of the fifth century A.D. Plate V-C, 6.

Type (ii)—One coin—Av. S. 21 mm., W. 22.3 grs.
The device and the legend on the obverse are similar, but the crescent is behind the bull and the characters are somewhat cursive, the signs of the superscript *r* in *rtha* and the medial *i* in *ti* are omitted. Plate V-C, 7.

The coins of these kings are coming to light for the first time. From the characters the coins of Varāha appear to be the earliest and those of Arthapati the latest in the whole lot. It may again be noted that the legends on the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, unlike that on the coin of Varāha contain the name of the respective king in the genitive case. In the disposition of the device and the legend these coins are in the style

of seals affixed to copper-plates or documents.¹ Attention may in particular be drawn to the seal of the Mallār plates of Mahā-Sivagupta,² which also comes from Chhattisgarh and contains the figure of the couchant humped bull, though the symbols before and behind it are different. Again its legend, though in verse, is written horizontally below the device like those on the present coins.

The coins seem to be struck according to the indigenous weight system, the smaller coins representing a *māsha* of five *krishnalas* and the larger ones three *māshas* each. As Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown,³ there were, in ancient India, coins weighing three *māshas* like those weighing only one *māsha*, though we have not come across actual gold coins of these weights.

I have so far described these thin pieces as coins, but it may be doubted in view of their thinness if they were meant for circulation. They resemble in many respects the gold plaque with the legend *Mahendrāditya*,⁴ described by R. B. Prayag Dayal. Another plaque of the same type is the so-called silver coin of Prasannamātra,⁵ discovered by Mr. L. P. Pandeya, which Sir Richard Burn⁶ takes to be a seal or a medal. All these plaques have several common characteristics. All of them are manufactured from thin sheets of gold or silver. The device and the legend appear embossed on the obverse of all of them, while their reverse is completely blank. The legend on each is, again, in box-headed characters in a horizontal line below the device. If the aforementioned plaque with the legend *Mahendrāditya* was issued by Kumāragupta I,⁷ it must be taken to be a token, for it is unlike the numerous gold coins struck by that Gupta Emperor. It may, therefore, be suggested that the plaques under consideration also are tokens, not coins meant for circulation.^{7a}

1 Kondegaon is 81° 39' E. and 19° 36' N.

2 See the Basarh seals, *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1903-4, pp. 101-20.

3 *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 87.

4 *Numismatic Supplement* XLIV, No. 309, J. A. S. B., Vol. XXIX, (1933).

5 *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol IX, p. 595 and *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 456 ff. and Plate 1.

6 *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

7 Mr. Ajit Ghose suggests its ascription to Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. 332, J. R. A. S. B. Vol. II.

7a Like the tokens described by R. B. Prayag Dayal, some of these coins have two holes pierced at the top.

It should, however, be noted that the smaller among them correspond in weight to the gold coins of one *māsha* mentioned in the *Jātakas* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya,⁸ and the latter, if they were actually in circulation, must have been very thin. Besides, no coins of the usual type struck by any of these kings have yet been discovered. I am, therefore, inclined to take these as coins. I must, however, add that none of them, except the coin of Bhavadatta, seems to have been in circulation for a considerable time, for the devices and legends on them are in a state of excellent preservation. My friend, Mr. M. A. Suboor, suggests that like the Niṣār coins of the Muhammadan Emperors⁹ they may have been issued as largess-money. The coins were, perhaps, buried soon after they were received as gifts.¹⁰

The similarity in the devices and characters of these coins suggests that they belong to the same age and were evidently struck by members of the same royal family. The coins themselves give no clue to the identification of this family. But from inscriptions we know of a king named Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty who probably flourished towards the close of the fifth century A.D. A copper-plate inscription in box-headed characters, recording a grant of this king¹¹ was discovered some fifteen years ago at Rithapur (Riddhapura) in the Amraoti District of Berar. It is dated in the eleventh regnal year and records the donation of the village Kadambagirigrāma which the king had made at Prayāga (Allahabad) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna for the blessings of himself and his queen. The charter was issued from Nandivardhana, evidently after the king's return to his capital. Nandivardhana is probably identical with Nandardhan (also called Nagardhan) near Rāmtek in the Nagpur District.¹² Towards the close of the record there is mention of

8 D. R. Bhandarkar—*Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 52, 86 and 90.

9 H. Nelson Wright—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. III, p. 106.

10 If such coins were specially issued as largess-money certain gifts recorded in contemporary inscription would not appear exaggerated. The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 26 ff. record, for instance, the gift of three lakhs of gold coins to Brāhmaṇas and of four more lakhs to temples, besides donations of several hundred villages, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

12 Mr. Y. R. Gupte, who has edited the record in the *Ep. Ind.*,

the Mahārāja Arthapati, who executed the charter for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother. The editor of this record took Arthapati to be an epithet (meaning the lord of wealth) of Bhavadatta himself.¹³ But it is unlikely that Bhavadatta would say in one part of the record that the gift was made for the blessings of himself and his wife and in another part of it that it was intended for the increase of the religious merit of his father and mother. Arthapati was, therefore, different from Bhavadatta. He was evidently his son. The title *Māharāja* prefixed to his name in the Rithapur plates and the issue of coins in his name clearly indicate that he succeeded his father Bhavadatta.

Another inscription mentioning Bhavadatta was discovered in 1922 at Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam District in the Madras Presidency.¹⁴ Poḍāgaḍh is only about forty miles from the eastern boundary of the Bastar State. This inscription is on a stone slab and records the foundation of a foot-print of the god Viṣṇu and the grant of a town¹⁵ (*pura*) for the worship of it and for the establishment of a charitable feeding house. The gift was made by a son of Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty in his twelfth regnal year. The name of this prince, which occurs at the end of line 5, has unfortunately been partly broken off. It has been tentatively read as Skandavarman. The subscript members of the ligatures *ska* and *nda* are not clear and in view of the close similarity between the letters *s* and *a* in the alphabet of that period,¹⁶ it may be suggested that the intended name was Arthavarman. But the reading *Śri-Arthavarmanā* in place of *Śri-Skandavarmanā* in lines 5-6 of that inscription would involve a hiatus and it appears doubtful if the name Arthapati would have been shortened into Artha (or Arthavarman). Besides, from his coins Arthapati seems to have been, like his father, a devotee of Śiva. He is not, therefore, likely to have himself erected a temple of Viṣṇu. For these reasons I prefer to accept the reading *Śri-Skandavarmanā* in lines 5-6 of

prefers to identify it with the village Nandur in the Yeotmal District, but gives no convincing reasons in support of it.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 ff.

¹⁵ See line 6 of the inscription. In line 9 also *purah* is the genitive singular of *pur*, a town, not an indeclinable meaning 'in front', as taken by the editor.

¹⁶ In the records of the period *a* and *su* are often confused.

the Poḍāgaḍh inscription and to take Skandavarman as a brother of Arthapati.

The names of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, who belonged to the Nala dynasty, are thus known from epigraphic records of the fifth century A.D. The name of Varāha is, however, coming to light for the first time. Like the other two princes he also undoubtedly belonged to the Nala dynasty. From the evidence of palaeography he seems to have been a predecessor of Bhavadatta. Perhaps he was his father.

A third inscription of the Nala dynasty was discovered at Rāim in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh as far back as 1825.¹⁷ It is incised on a stone tablet built into the right hand wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Rājivalochana. As it is considerably mutilated, it has not been edited so far. The extant portion eulogises the king Nala and mentions some members born in his family, of whom the names of only two viz., Prithvīrāj and Virūparāja, can now be read with certainty. On the evidence of its characters the inscription has been referred by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the middle of the 8th century A.D.,¹⁸ but it may be somewhat earlier. These princes were, therefore, later descendants of Bhavadatta and Arthapati.

The Nala dynasty was thus ruling over Dakṣiṇa Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh including the Bastar state and the adjoining territory). This conclusion is also corroborated by the statements in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* that the descendants of Nala would rule in Kosala. Pargiter places these princes in the third century A.D.;¹⁹ but if Varāha was one of the earliest kings of that dynasty, they must be referred to the fourth or fifth century A.D. From the characters of their inscriptions the Nalas appear to have been contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas. The former ruled over Kosala and the latter over Vidarbha (which comprised modern Berar and the Marathi speaking districts of the Central Provinces.) There were occasional wars between them. As stated above, the Rithapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadatta were issued from Nandivardhana, which was situated

¹⁷ It is mentioned in Mr. R. Jenkins' letter to Mr. W. B. Bayley, Vice-President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 501. For a facsimile of the inscription see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII, Plate IX.

¹⁸ P. R. A. S. Western Circle, for 1903-4, p. 48.

¹⁹ See Pargiter's *Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

in the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom and was once the Vākāṭaka capital.²⁰ Bhavadatta seems, therefore, to have occupied some portion of Vidārbha. The inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas also contain a reference to this invasion. The Bālāghaṭ plates of the Vākāṭaka Prithivishēṇa II (5th century A.D.) describe this king as one who raised his sunken family.²¹ We have evidently here a reference to a foreign invasion during the reign of Prithivishēṇa's father Narendrasena. The Vākāṭakas, however, soon retrieved their position and even carried the war into the enemy's territory. The aforementioned Poḍāgaḍh inscription mentions that Bhavadatta's son regained sovereignty and repopulated the capital Pushkarī which had been devastated by the enemy.²² This enemy was probably the Vākāṭaka Prithivishēṇa II.

The Nalas appear to have continued to reign in Kosala for some generations after Arthapati and Skandavarman. As stated before, Prithvirāja and Virūparāja mentioned in the Rājim inscription were among his descendants. The family is said to have been overthrown in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. by Kirtivarman I of the Western Chālukya dynasty. He is described in some Chālukyan inscription as the Night of Destruction to the Nalas.²³ It is not, however, unlikely that some princes of the family continued to rule in Kosala for some generations even after Kirtivarman I. For a similar statement is made about the Mauryas of North Konkan also; but we know from the Aihole inscription that the Mauryas were finally overthrown by Pulakeśin II, the son of Kirtivarman I.

V. V. MIRASHI.

²⁰ The Poona Plates of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā and the recently discovered Belorā Plates of her son Pravarasena II (which I am editing in the *Ep. Ind.*) were issued from Nandivardhana.

²¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 155.

²³ See e.g., the Aihole inscription of the reign of Pulakeśin II, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 4.

A TREASURE-TROVE FIND OF SILVER COINS OF BENGAL SULTĀNS

[Plate VI]

On the 15th November, 1937, a find of twenty silver coins was made by a villager while he was out looking for his strayed buffaloes on the bank of a dead river that once flowed by Hanspukur village in the Kalna sub-division, district Burdwan, a place in the vicinity of which myriads of relics are observed of the early Muḥammadan period. The coins were found secured in an earthen pot with a lid on, and were in a good state of preservation; only a few of them were covered with a thin layer of clay coating. After cleaning simply in pure water, the whole find was found, except one common specimen of Muḥammad III ibn—Tugh-laḡ, Sultān of Dehlī, to represent the issues of the early Sultāns of Bengal from Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh to Sikandar Shāh son of Iliyās Shāh, and thus covered a period of nearly half a century. By comparing the dates on the coins it may be presumed that the find was buried soon after 759 A.H., i.e., in the early period of Sikandar Shāh's reign. A special feature of this find is that none of these coins are disfigured with shroff-marks, which are observed extensively in the case of Bengal coins.

The find includes, in addition to the specimen of Muḥammad III ibn Tugh-laḡ Shāh, 5 coins of Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh, 3 of 'Alā-uddīn 'Alī Shāh, 10 of Shamsu-d-din Iliyās Shāh and one of Sikandar ibn Iliyās Shāh.

The coin of Muḥammad III (Pl. VI, 1) ibn Tugh-laḡ in this find is an issue of Satgāon mint and bears the date 734 A.H. (I.M.C. No. 324). From the numismatic evidence it appears that the Satgāon mint first came into being in the reign of this monarch. The coins of this mint issued by Muḥammad III ibn Tugh-laḡ, so far found in the existing collections, are dated in 729, 730, 731, 733 and 734. In the absence of any earlier or posterior issues, it may be supposed that mint Satgāon must have been founded in the year 729 A.H. (A.D. 1328) and that it passed into the hands of the Bengal Sultāns soon after 734 A.H. (A.D. 1333).

Of the five coins of Shamsu-d-din Firoz Shāh, two only are fully dated; one has the date 712 (Pl. VI, 2) and the other 716, (Pl. VI, 3). The present find gains a new date in 716 which is not represented either in the Indian Museum or British Museum collections. All the coins of this king in this

find are of known types already described in the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. The rest of his coins are without mint and of doubtful date.

Next we come to the coins of 'Alāuddin Ali Shāh. In this find two of his coins are dated in 741 (Pl. VI. 4) and 745 (Pl. VI. 5) respectively, both of Firozābād Mint; whereas the mint name on his third coin is deleted and the last unit of date obscure. The Indian Museum cabinet has only two coins of this king dated 743 and 744 and the specimen in the British Museum bears the date 745; therefore the coin in this find bearing the date 741 is a new discovery and an important one.

The most interesting portion of this find consists of the ten coins of Shamsu-d-din Iliyās Shāh who reigned simultaneously with 'Alāuddin 'Ali Shāh and after killing the latter became the absolute ruler of the whole of Western Bengal. Three of his coins are the issues of Satgāon mint of which two bear the dates 751 (Pl. VI. 6) and 757 (Pl. VI. 7) respectively. It is interesting to note that no coin of this mint has, so far, been represented in the cabinets of the British or Indian Museums. Mr. A. W. Botham has, however, described three coins of this king minted at Satgāon but they are dated in 754 and 758. Both the coins, therefore, of this find bearing the dates 751 and 757 are most important as they are not represented, so far as has been ascertained, in any existing collection. The find includes seven more coins of this king. All these specimens, except one, are struck at Firozābād representing the type 'A' of the Indian Museum Catalogue and bearing the dates 754 (Pl. VI. 8), 756 (Pl. VI. 9) and 758. It is to be noticed in this connection that the last two dates viz., 756 and 758 are wanting in the specimens of type 'A' of the Indian Museum cabinet and also in the British Museum collection.

Last of all, but not the least, is the coin of Sikandar Shāh, son of Iliyās Shāh, in this find. The specimen bears the date 759 written clearly in words and is similar to the type 'C' represented in the Indian Museum and British Museum cabinets. The coins in both the collections mentioned above are without mint and in one coin only of the British Museum is recorded the date 764 which is also marked with a query by the author. The present specimen of Sikandar Shāh in the find is, therefore, a valuable addition in the field of Bengal numismatics. We look upon this piece with an added interest in as much as it is an issue of the first year of Sikandar Shāh's reign.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD

A GOLD COIN OF MAHMŪD SHĀH KHILJĪ. OF MĀLWĀ

[Plate VII-A.]

The Prince of Wales Museum recently acquired this gold coin from a local dealer. So far, two varieties in gold of this ruler are known. They are:—

(1) Obv.—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه—
خلجى خاد الله خلافته

Rev.—سكندر الثانى يمين الخ—لا اله الا الله ناصر امير المؤمنين

Name of the mint Shādiābād in the margin.

(2) Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا—

Rev.—والدين محمود شاه الخلجى خاد الله سلطانه
and date.

Of Variety No. 1 about half a dozen coins are known and are dated 841, 869?, 870 and 871 A.H.

The coins of Variety No. 2 are extremely rare and only one piece with date 870 is noticed by Thomas on page 347 of his Chronicles.

The coin which forms the subject of this note belongs to Variety No. 2 and is dated 849 A.H. The script is different and the legend is not inscribed in cinquefoil as on No. 306 of Thomas. It dispels the idea that no gold coins were issued before 970 A.H. The dates 941 and 949 are clear proofs of this early currency in gold. We know from history that due to the heretical views of Nasir Khān, the Governor of Kālpi, there was a conflict between the armies of Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī of Mālwa and Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur. A general action ensued, but the result was indecisive. The terms proposed by the Jaunpur ruler were ultimately accepted by the Mālwa Sultan and peace was declared in 849 A.H. Possibly this gold coin with date 849 A.H. was issued when peace was declared and both the rulers retired to their respective territories.

The legend is as under:—

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم ابو المظفر علا الدنيا—

Rev.—والدين محمود شاه الخلجى خاد الله سلطانه

The date ۸۴۹ over the س of سلطانه

It weighs 168 grains.

C. R. SINGHAL.

A RARE *MUHR* OF NIZĀM SHĀH BAHMANI.

[Plate VII-B.]

The monetary issues of Nizām Shāh Bahmani, which so far were known only in copper, are extremely rare and the Prince of Wales Museum has the distinction of possessing a unique coin in gold.

This ruler is generally known by the name of Nizām Shāh but when we turn to his currency, we do not read Nizām Shāh on either the obverse or the reverse of his issues. As a rule Muslim coins are struck either with the name of the king or his title, but on his issues, so far known, both these important features are missing. He is only known by the name of Ahmad Shāh bin Humayun Shāh. It is worth enquiring whether he assumed this name at the time of ascending the throne. As his coins bear the name of Ahmad Shāh, one might suggest that in future he may be styled as Ahmad Shāh III instead of Nizām Shāh and this suggestion deserves consideration at the hands of eminent numismatists. The name of a ruler is recognized by his currency and not by his personal name given to him in his childhood by his parents. The most important and interesting point in this *Muhr*, however, is that the obverse legend gives a clue also to this name which reads as Nizām-ud-dunya wauḍ-din, for the first time. The reverse legend خلد الله ملكه 'May God perpetuate his kingdom' was used only by him and by no other ruler of this dynasty.

The mint Muḥammadābād, (Bidar) was named by Ahmad Shāh after the name of the saint Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz. It was renamed as Zafarābād by Aurangzeb.

The legend runs like this:—

Obv.—الرائق بالله الغنى ابو المظفر نظام الدنيا والدين

Rev.—In square

احمد شاه بن همايون شاه السلطان البهمنى خلد الله ملكه

Margin • ضرب حضرت محمد آباد سنة ٨٩٧

The weight is 170 grs.

C. R. SINGHAL.

A NEW MUHR OF MAHMŪD SHĀH BEGDA OF GUJARĀT

[Plate VII-C.]

Some time back a local bullion merchant brought some gold coins for sale and it was a great pleasure to lay my hands on a unique gold Muhr of the famous ruler of Gujarāt. In fact the issue of the kings of Gujarāt were mainly confined to silver and copper and not more than twenty coins in gold of all the rulers of Gujarāt were known so far. Out of the ten rulers of this dynasty who are known by their currency, only five, it seems, were anxious to strike their money in the precious metal and the credit of issuing the largest number of *Muhrs* goes to Muzaffar Shāh II and his grand-son, Maḥmūd Shāh III. Maḥmūd Shāh Begda, who was the most important ruler of this dynasty, did not strike many gold coins of which only one piece in the British Museum, London, is known. That piece bears no mint and is dated 914 A.H. The legend on the reverse is most common as can be seen from his other issues. The coin which is described here is unique in all aspects, except the legend on the obverse, which is common to both. The legend on the reverse of this coin is very interesting. The name of the king is inscribed in a circle and is followed by “خالد خلافت” i.e., “May his Khalifate be perpetuated.” The name of the mint with its full epithet and date 902 A.H. can be seen in the margin. If we just peep into the history of these legends, we find that it was Maḥmūd Shāh I who first introduced the sacred phrases of الدنيا ر الدين ابو الفتح الواثق بالله المنان ناصر الدنيا ر الدين ابو الفتح والواثق بتأييد الرحمن ناصر to be struck on his few earlier coins and these were followed with slight variations by his successors. It seems the legend “الواثق بتأييد الرحمن” was reserved for gold, while “الواثق بالله المنان” for his silver coins only, as these are not to be seen on any of his copper issues. On his later issues, these phrases were replaced by السلطان الاعظم with the following portion being continued. The reverse legend خالد خلافت was copied by him from the coins of his brother and grand-father Aḥmad Shāh II and Aḥmad Shāh I respectively. This خالد خلافته was first

used by him on his copper issues only in the year 863 A.H., when he came to the throne and these coins are exactly similar to the billon issues of his brother Aḥmad Shāh II except the name and title (*vide* No. 144 and 259 of the Catalogue of Coins of the Sultans of Gujarāt in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 1935). It weighs 175.5 grs.

• The legend runs as under:—

Obv.—In dotted circle

الرائق بتائيد الرحمن ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح
Rev.—In circle محمد شاه الساطان خلد خلافته

In the margin:—

ضرب هذا الدينار في شهر محرم محمد آباد عرف چانپانير سنه ۹۰۲

C. R. SINGHAL

A UNIQUE QUARTER-RUPEE OF SHER SHĀH SŪRĪ.

[Plate VII-D.]

This tiny piece was purchased from a Lucknow dealer for the Coin Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. At the time of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Āgra on 2nd January, 1927, Mr. Ratilal M. Antāni of Udaipur had exhibited a quarter-rupee of Sher Shāh of Āgra mint (*vide* N.S. No. XL, article No. 265). But the coin which forms the subject of this note is absolutely different from the one already known to numismatists. This coin bears no mint but is dated 948 A.H. and is in a fairly good condition. The type is the same as No. 630 of Indian Museum, Calcutta, or No. 1073 of Mr. H. Nelson Wright's splendid Catalogue of these coins. The legend reads as follows:—

Obv.—In square, the Kalima.

السلطان العادل

Margins indistinct.

Rev.—

شير شاه السلطان

خالد الله ماله

و ساطانه ۹۴۸

سرىسرماही

Wt. 40 grains.

C. R. SINGHAL.

THE GENEALOGY OF AHMAD SHĀH III OF GUJARĀT.

An interesting inscription published by Mr. G. Yazdani in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-6, p. 50, clears up a doubtful reading on certain coins of this ruler. The inscription describes Aḥmad (III not II as stated by Mr. Yazdani) as ابن عم of his predecessor Maḥmūd Shāh III. The word عم, though it can be clearly read on the coins, now that the correct reading has been pointed out, was read by Mr. Nelson Wright doubtfully as جد (I.M.C., II nos. 98 and 99, p. 238, and pl. 10), and by Mr. Singhal (*Cat. Coins, Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 718, pl. 8, and no. 732 (a), pl. 9.) as جد.

Mr. Yazdani, taking the ordinary meaning of عم as uncle interprets this coin and the inscription as recording that Aḥmad Shāh III was the cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh. This, however, conflicts with the genealogical table at p. 711, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 3, which Mr. Yazdani, therefore, supposed to be incorrect as it shows Aḥmad Shāh III as fifth in descent from Aḥmad Shāh I, while Maḥmūd Shāh III is sixth in degree from the same common ancestor. The table would then make Aḥmad Shāh an "uncle" rather than a cousin.

Colonel Wolseley Haig's table has, however, the good authority of the "*Arabic History of Gujarāt*," edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, Vol. 2, p. 391, and the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, as translated by Bayley, in "The History of Gujarāt," p. 454, describes him as a "relative" of Maḥmūd Shāh III. Professor Margoliouth has called my attention to Freytag's definition of عم which is equivalent, translating the Latin, to "relative" or "kinsman." In a recent letter Mr. Yazdani tells me that he now agrees that ابن عم is used in a wider sense than 'first cousin,' and as example he says that the late King Faisul of Iraq described himself as ابن عم of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam of Hyderabad, who is descended from Abū Bakr, a companion of the Prophet. The genealogical table in *Camb. Hist. India*, Vol. 3, p. 711, may thus be taken as more correct in this instance than those given by Mr. Nelson Wright and Mr. Singhal.

R. BURN.

NOTES ON SOME RARE GOLD MUGHAL COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Plate VIII.]

It has been suggested that I should send the Numismatic Society of India some notes on the coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr which have recently been acquired from me by the British Museum. In this paper I propose to deal only with the more outstanding gold coins.

AKBAR

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
1. Urdū	Kalima in quatrefoil.	In foliated lozenge
987	In corners, reading	غازي
Wt. 185.8	from bottom right to	اکبر بادشاه
Pl. VIII, 1.	left.	جلال الدين
	ابوبکر - عمر - عثمان - علی	In corners, from bottom right read- ing to left:
		ضرب اردو خد ملکہ

I know of no duplicate but a few rupees of similar design and mint are known.

2. Āgra	The obverse has the Kalima in a looped
970	and foliated pentagon and the legend and
Wt. 166.4	arrangement of the reverse are similar to
Pl. VIII, 2.	those of the coins of 971.

The interest of this coin lies in the fact that it is the earliest known gold coin of the Āgra Mint.

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
3. Āgra	الله اکبر	اذر الہی
48 Azar	جل جلالہ	۴۸ اکرہ
Wt. 84		ب
Pl. VIII, 3.		ضر

This is a half *mubr*.

The British Museum has a coin of similar denomination but struck in the month of مهر This was in the cabinet of the late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S.; I can trace no others.

4. Āgra
50 R.Y.
Shahrewar
Wt. 167.5 grs.
Pl. VIII, 4.

A *muhr* of the same year and month and similar in ornamentation has been described and illustrated in the Lucknow Museum Catalogue under No. 80. But the arrangement of the reverse legend is different. In the coin now figured the reverse reads ب اگړه in the Lucknow ۵۰ اگړه. The British

۵۰ ضرب

ضرب

Museum possesses another of these rare and beautiful *muhrs* but of the month Amardād. It is similar to the Lucknow coin in the arrangement of the reverse.

	Obv.	Rev.
5. Lāhor	الله	دسى الله
40 R.Y.	۴۰ کړ	۴۰ لهور
Di	جل جلاله	ضرب
Wt. 181.7 grs.		
Pl. VIII, 5.		

The weight of this coin shews that it is the *llāhi* of Abūl Fazl's inventory in the Āin-i-Akbari weighing 12 *māshas* $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs*, i.e., about 187 grs. *Muhrs* of this weight were apparently struck up to the 45th regnal year. Thereafter the normal weight was 11 *māshas* (about 170 grs.) The broad flan (.95 of an inch) makes the coin a striking one. It also seems to be unique otherwise, there being no mention of any specimen of this type in the British Museum, Punjab and Lucknow Museum catalogues, or elsewhere, so far as I know. It is further the earliest of the Lāhor gold *muhrs* with Akbar's creed, though two quarter *muhrs* of the month of Azar of this year (40) and type are known. Dr. White King had one (Schulman Sale Catalogue Pt. III, No. 3497) and one is still in my own cabinet. The latter weighs 47 grs. and was known as a 'Man.'

	Obv.	Rev.
6. Lāhor	As on No. 5	۴۸ لهور
48 R.Y.		ضرب
Mihr		
Wt. 84 grs.		
Pl. VIII, 6.		

This coin is apparently the only gold half-*muhr* of Lāhor known. Its weight and date shew that it is a half of the round *muhr* of Abūl Fazl's inventory.

Obv.

7. Mālpūr Kalima in triple square, the centre one
A.H. 984 dotted. ۹۸۴ in bottom left corner. Margins
Wt. 168.2 grs. cut.
Pl. VIII, 7.

Rev.

In oblong area enclosed by triple lines,
the centre one dotted:

جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازی

Below

دار الخلافة مالپور

This is the only gold coin known from this mint, so far as I am aware. A rupee—also single and also of 984 A.H.—was in the cabinet of Mr. Geo. Bleazby of Allahabad and is now in the British Museum. The date, however, runs vertically above the ج of جلال الدين on the reverse, which is enclosed in a triple square similar to that on the obverse of the gold coin. Some copper *dāms* are known, ranging between 983 and 986 A.H., but they are scarce. Mālpūr is one of the group of States included in the political agency of Mahikāntha and lies sixty miles east of Aḥmadābād. It will be noted that the *muhr* and rupee resemble in design the coins of Aḥmadābād of the same year. The necessity of having another mint so close to Aḥmadābād is difficult to understand.

Obv.

Rev.

8. No mint name

recorded.

R.Y. 44

Mihr

Wt. 161 grs.

Pl. VIII, 8.

سنت

این زرے

شاه اکبر ابرر

مهر

۱۶۱

سنت

انور زیورا

مهر

تا زمین و آسمان را

The Persian couplet is the same as that on the coin of Āgra described and figured under No. 169 in the British Museum Catalogue. This coin differs in having no mint name, the regnal year taking the place of the mint on the obverse. The reverse of the Āgra coin records the regnal year 49 and month—Azar. The Āgra coin also has a broader flan.

JAHĀNGĪR

9. Āgra
A.H. 1014
R.Y. 1
Wt. 100.4 grs.
Pl. VIII, 9.

Obv.

In triple circle, the centre
one of dots, on floral field

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

ضرب اگرة ۱۰۱۴

Rev.

As on obverse

غازی

بادشاه

سلیم

سلطان

1

This important and unique piece, which is a half of the heavy *muhr* issued by Jahāngīr in the early years of his reign, has been described and illustrated by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in Part III of his paper "Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors" in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1930, p. 6. It is a pre-coronation piece as shewn by the title Sultān Salīm and recalls the Salīmī rupees of the Aḥmadābād Mint. At his official accession the Emperor took the titles of Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr.

Obv.

10. Lāhor In triple circle "on
A.H. 1032. floral field:

R.Y. 17

Wt. 170 grs.

Pl. VIII, 10.

بادشاه

نگیر

نام جہا سنہ ۱۷

مہر

از نور

Rev.

As on obverse

ہمچر ماہ

ز سکہ

زر لاہور ۱۰۳۲

شہر

This unique coin was also described and figured by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the paper quoted above, p. 8. The same couplet appears on a zodiacal *muhr*, sign Scorpio, of the same mint and the same dates in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

- | | <i>Obv.</i> | <i>Rev.</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 11. Sq. | In triple square, the | In triple square, the |
| Āgra | centre one of dots, | centre one of dots, |
| A.H. 1020 | enclosing a double | enclosing a double |
| R.Y. 6 | lined octagon with | lined eight peaked |
| Month Khūrdād | floral emblems in | star with floral em- |
| Wt. 168.4 grs. | corners: | blems in corners: |
| Pl. VIII, 11. | | |

اکبر	ماه خورداد
شاه شاه	ضرب اگره
نگیر	سنه ۶
نور الدین جہا	۱۰۲۰

12. Āgra
A.H. 1022
R.Y. 8
Month Farwardin
Wt. 168 grs.
Pl. VIII, 12.

Obv.
In quadruple circle, the
alternate ones of dots:
نگیر شاه اکبر شاه
جہا
نور الدین

Rev.
As on obverse.

ضرب اگره الہی
ماه فروردین
سنه ۸
۱۰۲۲

Among the gold coins that passed from my cabinet to the British Museum were twelve *muhrs* of Jahāngir of the Āgra mint with dates between the fifth and twelfth years of his reign. From the point of view of artistic excellence these, especially those of the 5th and early 6th regnal years, can hardly be equalled in the whole range of Mughal coinage, unless it be by the coins of the last few years of Akbar's reign. The following is an abbreviated list:

- 1019-5 Isfandārmuz square.
- 1020-6 Khūrdād square.
- 1020-6 Amardād.
- 1020-6 Shahrewar.
- 1020-6 Di.
- 1021-7 Farwardin.
- 1021-7 Shahrewar.

- 1022-8 Farwardin.
 1022-8 Amardād.
 1022-8 Shahrewar 124 grs.
 1026-11 Isfandārmuz.
 1027-12 Azar.

This striking series appears to have begun in the month of Mihr 1019 and the coins were for the first few months of heavy weight and alternately round and square. *Muhrs* of Azar, Dai and Bahman 1019-5 and of Ardibihist 1020-6 are not, so far as I know, anywhere recorded. A look out should be kept for these. Of the above twelve coins I am describing and figuring only two. The Khūrdād coin of 1020-6 seems to mark the commencement of the lighter weight series and it is noticeable for being square instead of round as it should have been had it continued the earlier and heavier series. After it all the *muhrs* are round and of light weight, though in the rupee issue the alternation of round and square is kept up to the end of the series in 1028-13. I look on the Khūrdād *muhur* of 1020-6 with its legend enclosed on the obverse in an octagon and on the reverse in an eight-peaked star as the most beautiful coin of the series. It is also in very fine condition. So is the other *muhur* figured. It is typical in its design of the gold issues struck between Bahman 1021 and Azar 1027 when the gold series seems to have ended. In the months of Shahrewar and Mihr 1022-8 a new experiment seems to have been tried. No *muhur* of the usual type and weight is known, but coins of 124 grains take its place. The experiment, however, evidently met with no success and in Abān the former type was brought back. I do not think that the coins of Shahrewar and Mihr (R.Y. 8) should be regarded as spurious.

	Obv.	Rev.
13. Ajmer	دين پناه	ابن اکبر
A.H. 1024	شاه	بادشاه
R.Y. 10	در اجمير ۱۰	نگير
Wt. 166.7 grs.	سکه	نور جہا
Pl. VIII, 13.	زد بزر اين	الدين
		شاه
		۱۰۲۴

A coin of similar mint and type but of 1025-11 has been described and figured in the Punjab Museum Catalogue No. 890 and another in the British Museum Catalogue No. 302. There

are, however, differences in the arrangement of the reverse legend, i.e., the dies are distinct. On the British Museum coin the Hijra date is in the centre of the reverse instead of at the bottom. On the Punjab Museum coin the regnal year is placed at the top of the reverse—on my coin it is at the left of the mint name on the obverse.

	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
14. Sūrat	جهانگیر	شاه
A. H. 1036	ز حکم شاه	باد
RY.—	صد زیور	جهان
Wt. 161.2	یافت	بنام نور
• (a little worn.)	ضرب سورت	بیگم زر
Pl. VIII, 14.		۱۰۳۶

The British Museum has a second example of this very rare coin—of the same mint and date, and the Punjab Museum Catalogue records a Nūr Jahān *muhr* of Aḥmādābād of 1037. I can find no record of any orders. Neither the Indian Museum and Lucknow Museum catalogues nor the sale catalogue of the White King collection contain any mention of a gold coin in the name of Nūr Jahān.

H. NELSON WRIGHT.

A UNIQUE BI-MINTAL *MUHR* OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

[Plate VII-E.]

The coinage of the Mughal Badshāhs of Hindustan, although generally not so artistically executed as those of the Imperial Guptas and some other indigenous ancient Indian coins, provides ample materials and information for study by research scholars not only of numismatics but of history and economics as well.

It cannot be said that the fine arts did not sufficiently develop during the Mughal period to leave a definite impress on coins nor can it be said that they deteriorated so much as to make it impossible to produce fine examples of artistic pieces in the form of coins in view of the fact that the legacy the period has left behind in the shape of carvings and inlaid works on precious and semi-precious stones, textiles and miniature paintings still remains unparalled even after nearly three centuries.

The simplicity of execution in Mughal coinage can be explained for two reasons. One was their religious sentiments which prohibited the representation of living beings in art. Their artistic spirit was diverted towards ornamental writing in the form of Tugra and fine Nastaliq Caligraphy. Of course, the portrait and zodiacal coins of Jahāngir and the hawk, duck and Ramchandri *muhrs* of Akbar are the only exceptions. The other reason was the influence of the types and forms of coins then in circulation in Iran and Turan which they imitated and from where the Pathan and Mughal soldiers of fortune had come over to Hindustan.

In spite of the paucity of artistic designs as compared with the coinage of the Imperial Guptas etc., the Mughal coinage abounds in historical and other information which I can safely say no other system of coinage in the world, ancient or modern, has yet supplied to historians and numismatists. The following peculiarities are to be particularly noted:

- (1) The Hijra year
- (2) The regnal year
- (3) The Ilāhī year
- (4) The name of the month
- (5) The name of the mint towns
- (6) The mint marks, and
- (7) The Caligraphy.

The mint towns themselves only give us the idea of the extent of the Empire of the particular Emperor, but the name of a new mint town in conjunction with the year on the coin of a particular Emperor furnishes information regarding the date of the real conquest by the force of arms of that particular province of which the mint town was the capital or a formal acknowledgment of allegiance on the part of the hereditary chiefs of the province; because the reading of the Khutba i.e. proclamation of the regnant appellation and titles of the actual occupant of the throne of Dehli in the Friday prayers and the stamping of coins were in those days universally regarded as manifestoes of unchallenged supremacy.

• The Mughal Badshāhs of Hindustan were so particular as to their royal prerogative of minting coins that they carried mint and apparatus along with them on their march with their armies as well as on pleasure excursions, thus we have coins struck in the mint URDŪ (Royal Camp) URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN (Camp associated with victory) and URDŪ DĀR RAH I DAKHĀN (Camp on the road to the Dakhān).

The mint name URDŪ first appears on a coin of Babur in the Punjab Museum and on a few coins of Akbar also. Three unique zodiacal muhars of Jahāngir are also of URDŪ mint. The mint name URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN is only too familiar to the collectors of Akbar's coins as they were abundantly struck.

URDŪ DĀR RAH I DAKHĀN is a mint on a unique coin of Jahāngir in the Lucknow Museum.

Of Shāh Jahān there is only one known Nisar with the mint name of URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN.

From the above it is clear that although there are plenty of Akbar's coins with the mint name URDŪ ZAFAR QARĪN, there are only a few of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān with the Camp as their mint. This fact suggests that carrying of coin-dies with the Camp names engraved on them gradually came into disuse, and the later Mughal Emperors after Akbar, whether on their military expeditions or on their pleasure excursions to other provinces carried with them coin-dies of the capital towns of either Āgra or Dehli from wherever they made their start, and used them for stamping the obverse side only and for the reverse used the die of the capital town of the province where they made a longer halt, and struck coins during their sojourn. This supposition is borne out by an interesting gold *muhr* of Shāh Jahān, so far known to be unique, which is in my cabinet. The coin has on the obverse the name of the Emperor with full Imperial titles

and the mint name of Akbarābād, the execution of the die being exactly in the artistic Āgra and Dehli type, while on the reverse side appears the Kalima, the mint name of Patnah, a portion of the regnal year 3 and the month Ardibihist; the die is engraved in exactly the peculiar and comparatively inartistic Caligraphy of Patnah as is found on all other Patnah coins of this Emperor.

Another explanation which might be advanced is that obverse dies with the name of the Emperor only without any mint name were usually carried on such expeditions or excursions but on this occasion an obverse die with the name of the Emperor and the name of the mint town was taken from Akbarābād through oversight.

The above mentioned conjectures seem to be most plausible and the matter is left to the judgment of eminent scholars of history and numismatics.

BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI.

THREE BRONZE COINS OF PERSIS

[Plate VII-F.]

Persia is the Latinized form of a name which originally and strictly designated only the country lying along the north-east coast of the Erānian Gulf and bounded on the north by Media, on the north-west by Susiana and on the east by Carmania. It had of old its capital at Istakhr or Persepolis the cradle and sacred hearth of the Achaemenian and Sāsānian dynasties. This country and its people were anciently called Pārsa. This name figures in the cuneiform inscription of Darius the Great (B.C. 521-486) at Persepolis. "This land Pārsa," says Darius, "which Ahura-Mazdā has given to me, which is beautiful and rich in horses and men, according to the will of Ahura-Mazdā and myself it trembles before no enemy." The Greek form *περσαι* with *ē* for *ā*, which all European languages follow, seems to have come from the Ionians, who disliked to pronounce *ā* even in foreign words. Thus *περσαι* would stand for Pārsa. The form *περσις* is exclusively Greek. The name Persia, which with slight variations, is the name for Erān in all European languages, has its historic origin in the Greek appellation of this land. The Achaemenian dynasty, which rose from this province, so extended its power over the whole upland country, and built up such a mighty empire that the name of Pārsa was applied to the entire country and its people, and so again, when a second great empire, that of the Sāsānians, arose from the same land, all its subjects began to be called Persians, and Persis or Persia was used for the whole Sāsānian lands. The name Erān, on the other hand, was of much wider signification than Persia, and the whole-upland country from Kurdistān to Afghanistān, may be called Erān.

After the conquest by Alexander (B.C. 331) and under the Greek Seleucids, who had become masters of Alexander's Eastern Empire (B.C. 323-140), Persia or Pārs became a satrapy, governed like the others by a satrap. At the time of the dissolution of the Seleucid Empire, this province revolted almost about the same time as Parthia in B.C. 249-48, and gained its independence.

Persis never became a part of the empire of the Arsacids, although her kings recognized their supremacy when they were strong. It had throughout the whole Arsacid regime held an

isolated position, and is so seldom mentioned by ancient writers that our knowledge of its history and native princes is wholly due to its coins, but we cannot state whether these princes were all of one dynasty or more. From the different series of its coins, it is possible to assume that there were distinct periods in its history and consequently several reigning dynasties. The emblems on the coins show that Persis was always loyally Zoroastrian, though the Greek deities and Phil-Hellenism had penetrated the court of the Arsacids. Even after the researches of well-known numismatists for the last fifty years, we cannot compile with certainty a list of its rulers or determine with precision the limits of their reigns. It must not be assumed that the kings followed one another in a continuous sequence, because allowances have to be made for the possibility of contemporaneous reigns as well as the rise of usurpers and rival rulers, but we cannot prove such events from the coins, which are devoid of dates.

The coinage of Persis covers a period beginning about B.C. 249/48 and lasting until the rise of the Sāsānian coinage in the first decade of the third century after Christ. It consists of four distinct series, the first of which appears to date from B.C. 249/48 to about 150, because the coins in question are Achaemenian in style, the Achaemenian tradition being much stronger in Persis than in Parthia. The coins of the second series are characterized by the difference in style to those of the first series, and by the new title *shāh* assumed by the kings, as borne by all the other satraps of the Arsacid Empire. It seems probable that during the reign of Mithradates I (B.C. 171-138), Persis was subdued and became one of the semi-independent satrapies of the Arsacid Empire. It is, therefore, possible to date this series of coins from about B.C. 150 to about 100. The third series covers the period of the first century before Christ. It is greatly influenced by the type of the Arsacid drachms. The head of the king, which is turned to the right on the coins of the earlier series, is here turned to the left in accordance with the Parthian fashion. This direction of the head of the king continues on the coins of the fourth series till the time of Ardashīr Pāpakān (A.C. 211/12-241), when the old type is resumed. The arrangement of the inscription in a square is another feature copied from the Arsacid coinage. The small fire-altar is of the Parthian type as found on the Parthian bas-relief near Behistūn, on several Arsacid seals, and in strata of the Parthian age in Babylonian and Assyrian excavations. The inscriptions on the

coins of this series add the name of the father to that of the reigning king, which rule prevailed up to the time of the early coinage of Ardashīr Pāpakān. This innovation enables us to arrange these coins in chronological order with certainty. In the fourth series of coins two groups are distinguishable, the one subsequent to the third series and the other immediately preceding the Sāsānian coinage. This series naturally covers the remaining period upto about A.C. 210.

The coinage of Persis offers important palaeographic evidence. The characters in the inscriptions on the coins of the first series are almost identical with the Babylonian Aramaic of the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and the Aramaic inscriptions on Achaemenian seals. The early coins of the second series show that the script commences to deviate from the archaic to the Pārsik form, and the coins of the third series display so marked a difference that the two scripts are clearly distinguishable. In the fourth series several characters have reached their final forms, and during the course of the first century after Christ the differentiation between the Aramaic and Pārsik scripts was complete. On the later coins of this series the script become nearly the same as that on the coins and rock-cut inscriptions of the early Sāsānian kings. This evolution of the script is very different to that which produced itself in the country of the Semitic language, such as Susiana and Babylonia, the Aramaic writing preserved for a very long time, than in Persis, their archaic characters.

Pahlavī is the name given by the followers of Zoroaster to the language and characters in which are written the ancient translations of their sacred books and other works of a critical character, but the correct term should be Pārsik. The name Pahlavī means Parthian, Pahlav being the regular Pārsik transformation of the older Parthava. This fact points to the conclusion that this language belongs to the Pahlav country. On the other hand, the name Pārsik indicates that this language was current in the principality of Pārs (Persis). Other linguistic, graphical and historical indications point the same way. But it is far from clear how the strange practice of writing Semitic words which were to be read as Pārsik was developed. This system cannot be the invention of some individuals, for in that case this practice would have been more consistently worked out.

With these preliminary remarks I here introduce to the notice of students of this epoch three bronze coins, now in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which as far

as I know, are unique, for the known currency of Persis consists entirely of silver. These three pieces pertain to the first, second and third series which fact implies that bronze coins were also struck in Persis covering the period from about B.C. 249/48 to the first century before Christ.

No. 1. First Series.

Vātafradāt I (Autophradates I)

Metal Æ Wt. 180 grs.

Axis ↑ Size 1.25"

Obv.—Head of Vātafradāt I r., with short beard, wearing kyrbasia bound with diadems tied at back, and with flap to cover ear; grenetis.

Rev.—Fire-altar, with double panelled doors, and horned battlements above; above it hovers an image of *favabr* (badly struck up); on l., the king wearing head-dress as on obv., and long garment with sleeves, standing r.; r. hand raised in adoration towards the altar, and l. resting on upright bow before him; on r., standard; uninscribed, but strokes on r. and in ex.; grenetis; flan concave in form.

The inscription on the reverse of the silver coins is:—*Vatafradat fratarakā zī alabiā*, 'Vātafradāt, the divine chief'. *Fratarakā*, 'the chief', was the official title of the kings of Pārs (Persis), and the ideograms *zī alabiā* stand for *i bagān*, 'the divine.' On some coins the mint-name is found in an abbreviated form: $\frac{BR}{PR}$, while on some others the full name ap-

pears: $\frac{BIRTA}{PRS}$

Birtā is the ideogram for *stakhr*, 'fortress', and PRS refers to Pārs, therefore, *Birtā Pars* means the fortress of Pārs, that is the capital Istakhr or Persepolis.

No. 2. Second Series.

Dārayav I (Darius I)

Metal Æ Wt. 76 grs.

Axis ↑ Size .90"

Obv.—Head of Dārayav I r., with close cropped beard, wearing kyrbasia with neck-piece, bound with diadem tied at back, crescent (horns upwards) on top of head-dress, circular ear-ring.

Rev.—Similar to No. 1, but all details more summary, and workmanship ruder; on r., of altar eagle l. on upright rectangle; inscr. in ex.:—*Dārayav malkā*, 'Darius the king'; *malkā* is the ideogram for *shāh*, 'king'.

No. 3. Third Series.

Artakhshatār II (Artaxerxes II)

Metal	Æ	Wt.	71 grs
Axis	↑	Size	.85"

Obv.—Bust of Artakhshatr II l., with short beard and thick waved hair, wearing Persepolitan crown with stepped battlements, diadem, torque, and cloak.

Rev.—Small fire-altar; on r. the king stands l., holding with both hands a sword inclined towards the fire; inscr. in square, above (A)rtakh(sha)tr. on l. *malikā*, in ex. *bareh* (*Dārayav*), on r. (*ma*)*lkā*, 'Ardashir the king, son of Darius the king'; the ideogram *bareh* stands for *pus*, 'son' A symbol (badly struck up) counterstruck, obliterating the letter 'sh' in the top line and the fire on the altar.

FURDOONJEE D. J. PARUCK.

OBSERVATIONS ON FIVE SĀSĀNIAN COINS*

[Plate IX.]

I propose to describe five interesting Sāsānian coins, or rather, without insisting on their descriptions, to point out their peculiarities. The reader would, therefore, examine with care the figures on the plate.

The drachm No. 4 illustrates an event known in history, but the pieces Nos. 1 and 2 have the advantage of bringing forward new documents for history itself. In the total absence of any other document, the legends on these latter coins permit us to reconstruct the history of the farthest conquest in the East by the Sāsānian kings. The third century of the Christian era is justly regarded as the most obscure in the whole of the Indian historical period. It is, therefore, necessary to collect everything that can throw the least light on that period. The coins Nos. 1 and 3 are preserved in the British Museum, and the drachms Nos. 2, 4 and 5 belong to my cabinet.

No. 1. The British Museum possesses two drachms of Firōz, son of Ardashīr I (224-241), the reverse of which has been misrepresented on account of the incorrect reading of a part of the inscription. I, therefore, propose to give the correct reading and to identify the personage seated on a throne. The reverse of these drachms is much defaced, but we can now restore the details by the aid of the drachm of Hormazd I (No. 2 of the present article). On the reverse, to the left of the fire-altar, we find the crowned figure of Firōz, and to the right, a personage in whom Herzfeld recognizes a god. Behind Firōz, we read PEROZI MLKA, and behind the personage, the brief legend MLKA INDI,¹ though Herzfeld² claims to read *Buddā yazde*, 'Buddha god'. As this reading was erroneous, I pointed it out to this savant and justified my correction.³ But he persists in maintaining his erroneous reading with one modification of

* F. D. J. Paruck: 'Observations sur cinq monnaies Sassanides' in 'Revue Numismatique', 1936, pp. 71-86, pl. I; translated by the author by kind permission of the editors of the 'Revue Numismatique'. Additional notes are enclosed in brackets, thus [].

¹ See my book: 'Sāsānian Coins', pp. 82 and 322.

² 'Paikuli', p. 45.

³ 'Revue Archéologique', 1928, p. 241.

no importance: *Buldā yazde*.⁴ It is fortunate that he has given in his Memoir an enlarged drawing of the reverse (p. 30, fig. 22), and the enlarged photographs of the two drachms (pl. I, figs. 5a, 5b). On the drawing, this brief legend begins with the Pahlavī letter B, but this sign does not appear on the photographs. On the contrary, the first letter resembles the Pahlavī letter M in the Sāsānian rock-cut inscriptions, therefore, we ought to read it M and not BU. The third is K without the horizontal stroke. This omission is not rare in the monetary epigraphy of that period. The second letter of the second word is, without any doubt, N and not Z. On the reverse of the drachm of Hormazd I (No. 2 of the present article), the second letter of the word INDI resembles exactly the Pahlavī letter N in the Sāsānian rock-cut inscriptions. This confirms my reading INDI on the reverse of the drachms of Firōz. I may be permitted to say that the reading *Buddā* or *Buldā yazde* is impossible, for we have only to examine the photographs to convince ourselves that we can easily read MLKA INDI, that is *malkā Inde*. This reading has not only a reasonable sense, but it has the merit of agreeing precisely with the indications afforded by the epigraphy of the period.

It appears to me to be certain that the name *Inde* on these coins signifies Sind. The Pahlavī form of this name is Hind, but, due to Greek influence, the first letter H has been dropped. These drachms were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, where Greek influence was profound at that time. The artistic aspect of the reverse, moreover, illustrates this influence very well. The design in fact depends more on Greco-Bactrian art than Sāsānian. The type of the representation of the personage seated on a throne is derived from that of Zeus seated on a throne, as found on the Greco-Bactrian coins, and the style of the perspective representation of the throne is also due to the same influence. I submitted this note to Sir Aurel Stein, and I am glad to say that he has approved of my identification. The brief legend *malkā Inde*, to the right, depicts the personage seated on a throne as being the king of Sind.

A few letters appear on the upper part of the reverse of these drachms. Herzfeld⁵ proposed, at first, the reading MZD or

⁴ 'Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 38; Herzfeld: *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*', p. 31. This Memoir requires to be read with caution, for it contains many fanciful conjectures.

⁵ 'Paikuli', p. 45.

MLK, then later on, SML, that is Samarkand.⁶ From the enlarged photographs in the Memoir (pl. 1 figs. 5a, 5b), I am able to decipher these letters as IRD. There are traces of the fourth letter, but it is not inscribed in full for want of space. The word *Iradatī* is found following the name *Inde* on the reverse of the drachm of Hormazd I (No. 2 of the present article). This confirms my reading IRD[TI] on the reverse of the drachms of Firōz. Thus, we know that this word is continued in the brief inscription to the right, therefore, the complete reading is *malkā Inde Irada (tī)*.

The last name may be applied to the valley of the river Rāvi, one of the five rivers of the Punjāb, that of the centre, that is Multān, which the early Arab geographers included in the kingdom of Sind.⁷ I have not been able to find any reference to prove that the name of this river was applied to the country which it waters. It is difficult to say whether the Pahlavī form *Iradatī* is derived from the Indian name *Irāvati* or from its Greek form *Hydrāotes*, the old course of the river Rāvi.

[*Irāvati*, 'rich in food', and *Hydrāotes*, 'rich in waters', are obviously two distinct names of one and the same river. It seems probable that the form *Iradatī* is merely the phonetic transcription of the Greek name *Hydrāotes*, the transposition of the letters 'd' and 'r' being not an unusual occurrence.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs me that the name *Irāvati* persists upto modern times, the present name Rāvi being only an abbreviated form—the initial vowel being dropped as is the tendency in the Punjāb. There is, however, no evidence to show that the Central Punjāb was named after the *Irāvati* valley, although this should not be impossible.]

The nimbus around the head of the king of Sind, on the reverse, attracts our attention. The solar halo is not a distinctive characteristic of the deities, but it is also proper to great men. The principal argument of Herzfeld⁸ is that the nimbus around the head is the sole distinctive attribute which permits us to recognise the identity of Mithra. To accept this attribution, we must remove many difficulties. A study of Indo-Scythian coins⁹ shows that not only Mithra but even other deities were represented with the solar halo. Thus the presence of the nimbus does not permit us to identify the figure with Mithra.

⁶ Herzfeld, Memoir, pp. 14—15.

⁷ 'Encyclopædia Britannica', 9th edition, *sub* Multān.

⁸ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁹ 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum', 1886, Pls. XXVI-XXVIII.

Herzfeld asserts, moreover, in his Memoir (p. 29), that it was the divine prerogative to hold in the hand the Sāsānian diadem with long bands and to present this symbol of royalty to the king. This assertion is proved to be false by the testimony of the coins of several Sāsānian kings. The presentation of the diadem by the queen and the prince, on several coins of Bahrām II (276-293), is an instance in point. Herzfeld has overlooked these Sāsānian coins. On the reverse of the drachms of Firōz, the presentation of the diadem by the king of Sind, seated on a throne, appears to be the symbol of *hamā-zor*. We have noticed representations of this kind not only on the coins of several Sāsānian kings, but also on some of their bas-reliefs. Thus, on that of the Naqsh-i Rustom, Ardashīr I is *hamā-zor* with Ahura-Mazdā, then between the supposed tomb of Darius II and that of Darus I, Narses is figured as *hamā-zor* with Anāhita. This conception of *hamā-zor* is based on religious tradition and texts.¹⁰

[The inscription on the drachms of Firōz is:—

Obv.—Inscr. around, beginning on r., upwards, *Mazdēsn bagi Pērōzi rabā Kūsān malkā*, to be read *Mazdēsn bage Pērōze vazurg Kūsān šāh*, 'Mazdā-worshipping lord Firōz, the great Kushān king.'

Rev.—on l., downwards, *Pērōzi malkā*, to be read *Pērōze šāh*, 'king Firōz'; on r., upwards, *malkā Indī*, to be read *šāh (i) Hind*, 'king of Sind'; on top, *Irada (ti)*.]

No. 2. I have published this drachm in another journal,¹¹ where I have attributed it to Hormazd II (303-310), but after having studied it once again, I believe that it was issued by Hormazd I (272/73). It was not possible for me to explain at that time the meaning of the inscription on the reverse to the right, and to decipher the word in the second line on the upper part of the field. The legend to the right of the reverse is: A INDI IRDTI. By analogy with the same inscription on the drachms of Firōz (No. 1 of the present article), I think that the first word is *malkā*, of which the letter A only could be deciphered. As I have explained above, the names *Inde Iradatī* signify Sind and Multān. The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive, but now I am able to propose the reading HREZI.

¹⁰ Coyajee, J. C., in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1926, p. 403.

¹¹ Revue Archéologique, 1930, p. 234 sq.

According to all the early Arab geographers,¹² the old name of Rājputāna was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Harez, as on this drachm. †

[In Pahlavi the letter 'h' has also the phonetic value of 'kh', so the name Harēz may be pronounced Kharēz.

Cunningham has observed that "The name of the country is somewhat doubtful, as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as *Haraz* or *Hazar*, and *Kharaz* or *Khazar*, as well as *Jurz* or *Juzr*. But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position, which is determined to be Rājputāna by several concurring circumstances. Thus the merchant Sulimān, in A.D. 851 (Dowson's *Elliot*, I, 4), states that Haraz was bounded on one side by *Tāfek* or *Tākin*, which, as I have already shown, was the old name of the Punjab. It possessed silver mines, and could muster a larger force of cavalry than any other kingdom of India. All these details point unmistakably to Rājputāna, which lies to the south-east of the Punjab, possesses the only silver mines known in India, and has always been famous for its large bodies of cavalry" (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. by Sāstri, 1924, p. 358).

It is difficult to establish the exact limits of the extension of the power of the Sāsānian kings in India, for the old historians use the name India in a vague sense, but the inscriptions on these drachms permit us to extend the eastern limits of the Sāsānian Empire to the countries of Sind, Multān and Rājputāna. In the absence of any positive evidence, it is not possible to determine whether the conquest was made by Shāpūr I (241-272) or his immediate successor to the throne. As Hormazd I (272/73) appears to be the first to assume the title of "Great Kushān, king of kings", it is natural to suppose that he aggrandized the empire. This king may possibly be the first to penetrate so far, the conquest of his predecessor may have been limited. The British Museum possesses a few copper coins of Shāpūr I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, but unfortunately they are much defaced. The fragmentary inscriptions on these pieces are of no help to us. It is proper, therefore, to await the discovery of other coins of the same type,—specimens with clear and correct inscriptions, which may permit us to solve the question. According to the '*Kitāb-al-Fihrist*',¹³ Firōz was the viceroy of Khorāsān [that is the East], during the reigns of Shāpūr I and Hormazd I. It is, therefore, difficult to decide in whose reign these drachms were struck. These coins, however, authorise us to state that Sind, Multān

¹² 'Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*', ed. by Sāstri, 1924, p. 358.

¹³ Fluegel und Roediger, p. 428, No. 26.

and Rājputāna were at that time in the hands of the Kushāns, and that their king was a vassal of Hormazd I, and possibly also of Shāpūr I.

[Vincent Smith, in his invaluable 'Early History of India' (3rd ed., p. 273), has remarked that "Absolutely nothing positive is known concerning the means by which the renewed Persian influence, as proved by numismatic facts, made itself felt in the interior of India. Bahrām II is known to have conducted a campaign in Sistān, at some time between 277 and 294; but there is no record of any Sāsānian invasion of India in the third century, during which period all the ordinary sources of historical information dry up. No inscriptions certainly referable to that time have been discovered, and the coinage issued by merely local rulers, gives hardly any help. Certain it is that two great paramount dynasties, the Kushān in Northern India, and the Āndhra in the tableland of the Deccan, disappear together almost at the moment (A.D. 226) when the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sāsānian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushān coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But the conjecture is unsupported by direct evidence."

If Vincent Smith had been alive today, he would have been delighted to find a confirmation of his suggestion of "an unrecorded Persian invasion" in the inscriptions on the drachms of Firoz and Hormazd I.

Vazurg Kūšān šāh was the official title of the Sāsānian viceroy of Khorāsān, that is the East, whereas the title *Vazurg Kūšān šāhān šāh* implies not only the actual suzerainty over the whole of the Kushān kingdom, but also over the hitherto independent Kābul valley and the Punjāb. The result of the wars of the Sāsānian kings in the East, must have been the recognition of their claim by the Kushān shāh and the Kushān kings of Kābul and the Punjāb, otherwise these titles could not have been assumed by the Sāsānian viceroy and the king.

On the obverse of a drachm of Bahrām I (273-276), the king bears the title of *Vazurg Kūšān* (see Mordtmann, in the 'Z. D. M. G.', 1880, p. 30, No. 82; and Paruck, 'Sāsānian Coins', p. 293 sq.). This fact implies that this king had retained possession of the Eastern provinces conquered by his predecessor on the throne.

From the Paikuli inscription we know that several vassal kings from remote parts of the empire had gone to Persia to express their allegiance on the occasion of the accession of Narses (293-303) to the throne. Among these vassals were the Kushānshāh, the king of Surāshtra (the modern Kāthiāwād and Kacch), the king of Avanti (the modern Mālwa) and twelve Śaka kings of the adjoining hinterland. Thus we see at a glance the extent of the Indian dominions of the Sāsānian kings. One fact comes out clearly from this inscription that the Sāsānian kings had maintained their suzerainty over the countries conquered by their predecessors.

Ardashīr I (224-241), in his inscriptions on rocks and coins, calls himself *šāhān šāh i Erān*, whereas his son Shāpūr I (241-272) styles himself *šāhān šāh i Erān ut Anērān* in his rock-cut inscriptions, but his son Hormazd I (272/73) and his successors to the throne bear the same

title on their coins. The extent of the Sāsānian Empire towards the East at the time of the death of Ardashir I is uncertain. The general belief appears to be that the earlier Sāsānian kings were too much engaged with Rome and Armenia to spare time for Eastern expeditions. Byzantine and oriental historians assert that the empire of Ardashir I extended to the Indus and the Oxus, and upon their authority Gibbon ('Decline and Fall', Vol. I, p. 349) observes that this king had obtained easy victories over the wild Scythians and effeminate Indians. From a coin collected in the Jhelum district, Punjab, and from a statement made by Firishta, the historian Vincent Smith ('J.R.A.S.', 1920, p. 221 sq.) has been able to show that Ardashir I had invaded the Punjab, advancing as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind or the Satlaj, and then retired when the principal Indian monarch expressed his allegiance and paid tribute.

Anērān means 'non-Erān', and signifies the sovereignty over non-Erānian kingdoms. From the above mentioned titles, it appears that it was Shāpūr I, who had extended the realm beyond what was then known as Erān. On the obverse of one of the few known copper coins of Shāpūr I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, there are traces of the inscription *Mazdēsñ bagī Sabpūhri Kūśān malkā* (see Herzfeld, 'Kushano-Sasanian Coins', Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 38, 1930, p. 25, fig. 16). The reason for this title was the conquest of the Kushān kingdom made by this king. From the coins of Shāpūr I, Firōz and Hormazd I, struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns, we now know the exact signification of the term *Anērān*. The name of Erān signified the whole upland country from Kurdistān to Afghānistān, whereas the name of *Anērān* was applied to the provinces in India conquered by the early Sāsānian kings.

The drachm of Hormazd I bears the inscription:—

Obv.—inscr. around, beginning on r., upwards, *Mazdēsñ bagī Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūśān malkān malkā*, to be read *Mazdēsñ bage Ohormazde vazurg Kūśān šāhān šāh*, 'Mazdā-worshipping lord Hormazd, the great Kushān, king of kings.'

Rev.—inscr. beginning on top first line, downwards, *Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūśān malkān malkā*; on r., upwards, (*malkā*) *Indī Iradatī*; on top second line, *Harēzi*.]

N. 3. We know that Hormazd II (303-310) had married a daughter of the Kushān king of Kābul. This fact has led several numismatists to attribute to Hormazd II, the two gold coins preserved in the British Museum. On these coins, the king calls himself "Hormazd the great Kushān, king of kings". From a comparison of these coins with the above-mentioned drachm (No. 2 of the present article), it seems a proper inference that these three coins were issued by the same king, that is Hormazd I.

The ideogram MLKY, 'royal',¹⁴ appears near the fire on the reverse of some Sāsānian coins. Mr. Herzfeld¹⁵ considered its

¹⁴ See my book, p. 288.

¹⁵ 'Paikuli', pp. 46 and 217.

signification, at first, to be obscure and remarked that it was neither *shāh* nor *shābīk*, but in his Memoir (pp. 12-14) he reads it *shābīkān*, 'royal', and after having discussed his own suggestions, he concludes that the ideogram MLKY is a mint-mark of the city of Merv. As this ideogram appears above the fire, on the reverse of these two gold coins, he says that they were struck in Merv. But the inscriptions on these pieces prove that they were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns. The city of Merv was never conquered by the Kushāns; it belonged to the Sāsānian king. It is, therefore, difficult to admit that these pieces, bearing such inscriptions, were issued by Hormazd I in Merv. It is surprising that Herzfeld did not recognise this difficulty which went contrary to his identification.

In his Memoir (p. 15), he remarks that the only scientific method for establishing the attribution of the mint-marks to different mints, is to prove their continuity till the end of the Umayyad period. But it is singular that he has not followed this method himself. The ideogram MLKY is not found on the Arab coins, on the contrary, the name of the city is inscribed in full: MRV. In order to show that the mint-marks appeared under the form of ideograms, he cites (p. 14) the mark BBA and identifies it with Ctesiphon. He has failed to observe that this mark appeared on the coins of Yezdegerd III (632-651), dated the years 19 and 20, and after 20 years it reappeared on the Arab drachms bearing the bust of Khusrau III (590-628) and dated the year 40, though Ctesiphon was in the hands of the Arabs since 637. It may be noted that the year 40 is calculated after the era of Yezdegerd. But as this mark appears on the coins struck in the year of the death of Yezdegerd, it is probable that this mark indicates the city in the neighbourhood of Merv or Herāt. The identifications of Herzfeld cannot but surprise those who know the subject.

The obverse of the gold coins of Hormazd I resembles much that of the drachm (No. 2 of the present article) of this king, the reverse is different. However, on the reverse, two analogous details arrest our attention: the presentation of the diadem by the personage to the right, and the nimbus around his head. Herzfeld¹⁶ sees in him Mithra, on account of the solar halo around his head. But how are we to admit that Mithra, the god of the *celestial* light, was figured as adorning a *terrestrial* fire? Obviously, this personage is the king of Sind.

¹⁶ 'Paikuli', p. 46.

The coins Nos. 1, 2 and 3, of the present article, are closely related and form a homogeneous series. The type of the reverse of the drachms of Firōz, in reality, resembles that of the drachm of Hormazd I, whereas the obverse of the gold coins and the drachm of Hormazd I bear the same inscription and the same bust of the king in almost every detail. The title of these kings shows that these coins were struck in the kingdom of the Kushāns. The drachms inform us, besides, that the personage seated on a throne, on the reverse, is the king of Sind. It is, therefore, reasonable to identify the personage, to the right on the reverse of the gold coins, with this king.

[The coins of Firōz and Hormazd I reveal to us an interesting fact that the Kushān king of Sind, Multān and Rājputāna was a Zoroastrian. The Kushān king would not have been represented, on one side of the fire-altar, as *hamā-zor* with the Sāsānian king, unless he was a follower of Zoroaster.

The inscription on the two gold coins of Hormazd I is:—

Obv.—inscr. around, beginning on r., upwards, *Mazdēsn bagī Aūhrmazdī rabā Kūšān malkān malkā.*

Rev.—the same inscr. as on *obv.*, but above fire, *malkey*, to be read *sāhik*, 'royal'.

For the reading and meaning of the inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, see the inscriptions on the drachm of Hormazd I given above.]

No. 4. This drachm of Bahrām I (273-276) presents certain peculiarities, which are very interesting to study. The inscriptions on the two sides are ordinary. On the obverse, a rosette is found in the field to the right of the crown. The fire-altar, on the reverse, is of a design different to that found on the other coins of this king. It is formed of a pedestal of three steps and a fluted column supporting four slabs of stone forming the top. The mark SKSTAN (Sakastān) is inscribed above the fire. This is the earliest instance known of a mint-mark inscribed in full in the Sāsānian series of coins. I do not know of any other Sāsānian coin bearing this mark. To the left of the altar, the king stands wearing a crown adorned with spikes and surmounted by a globe; the hair and beared in plaits as on the obverse. To the right, a personage stands wearing a round crown surmounted by a globe and having the hair in curls. Who is this personage? The mint-mark enlightens us about him. We know that the crown prince Bahrām had subjugated the Sakastāni (the Sakas), one of the most warlike of nations, and had obtained the title of Sakānshāh. It is probable that this drachm was struck after the conquest of the kingdom of Sakastān, which included the whole of the north-west of India, and that Bahrām Sakānshāh was represented on the reverse to

the right of the altar. The representation of the figure of the heir presumptive on the coins of a reigning king is not a rare case for there exist—we know certainly—instances of coins of this kind.

Vasmer¹⁷ describes a drachm of Bahrām I (273-276), in the Ermitage Museum (No. 177), which bears on the reverse, to the right of the altar, a personage wearing a mural crown surmounted by a globe, and believes (p. 268 sq.) that this personage is Shāpūr I (241-272). It is difficult to admit that a deceased king was represented as a guardian of the fire consecrated in the name of the reigning king. This would be apotheosis, which would be contrary to the tenets of the religion of Zoroaster. By analogy with the above-mentioned coin, which is in my cabinet, we can be convinced that the personage is not Shāpūr I, but a member of the royal family, who was the viceroy (*shāh*) of one of the provinces where this drachm was struck. It appears to me to be certain that the personage, whom we find wearing a mural crown surmounted by a globe on the reverse of some coins of Bahrām II¹⁸ (276-293), is no other than this viceroy. This means that these coins were struck in the same and only province. Firdausī tells us that a prince ruling as the viceroy wore a crown and was called *shāh*. Noeldeke¹⁹ expresses the opinion that this observation indicates a characteristic trait of the Sāsānian custom. It appears that the wearing of the globe above the crown was not a prerogative of the king only. This right appears to have been ascribed to other members of the royal family on rare occasions. On the reverse to the left of the field of a hemi-drachm of Hormazd I (272/73), in the Ermitage Museum (No. 162),²⁰ a personage is found wearing a petticoat and a mural crown surmounted by a globe. This personage is evidently the queen. Shāpūr, son of Yezdegerd I (399-420), who was viceroy of Armenia, also wore a crown surmounted by a globe. The obol in the Bartholomaei Collection (pl. XI, fig. 18) is unfortunately pierced on the very spot where the globe ought to have been visible, but the obol, which is in my cabinet,²¹ shows the globe very distinctly. All coins of Jāmāsp (497-499) bear the bust of a prince wearing a crown surmounted by a globe. A gold coin of

17 'Numismatic Chronicle', 1928, p. 274, No. 24.

18 'Bartholomaei Collection', Pl. IV.

19 'Das Iranische Nationalepos' in the 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie', Vol. II, p. 171; and 'Tabari', p. 49, note 2.

20 Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 267, No. 20.

21 Paruck in the 'Revue Numismatique', 1933, pl. VI, fig. 6.

Kobād I (488-531), in the Ermitage Museum,²² shows on the reverse the full-length figure of the crown prince Khusrau wearing a crown surmounted by a globe.

Vasmer (p. 268 sq.) asserts, moreover, that the personage wearing a round crown surmounted by a globe, having plaited hair and beard, and standing to the right of the altar, on the five coins of Bahrām I (273-276), in the Ermitage Museum, is Ardashīr I (224-241). As I have already remarked above, it is not probable that a deceased king was represented as a guardian of the fire consecrated in the name of the reigning king. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Vasmer, I have received the casts of the 31 coins of this king, preserved in the Ermitage Museum. After examining these casts, I find that on the reverse of the five specimens in question, the crown of the king and that of the other personage are similar and without spikes. Of the remaining twenty-six specimens, there are no less than sixteen pieces on the reverse of which the crown of the king is without spikes. This omission is not rare on several other coins of this king examined by me. This shows that the personage to the right of the altar, on the above-mentioned five coins, is not Ardashīr I, but that the reigning king is represented on either side of the altar.

A personage wearing a mural crown without globe is represented on either side of the fire-altar on the reverse of most of the coins of Shāpūr I (241-272). A similar personage appears almost always to the right of the fire-altar, the left side being reserved for the reigning king, on most of the coins of Hormazd I (272/73), and of his successors to the throne up to Hormazd II (303-310). We cannot conceive the idea that the one and the same person was represented on the coins of seven successive kings for a period of about seventy years (241-310). In all probability, the mural crown without globe was, therefore, an insignia of honour for a person holding an eminent rank.

We know what dominant role the questions of rank and title played in the life of the Persians of the Sāsānian period. The royal custom to distinguish a person by giving him a robe of honour was very ancient. A crown or a diadem was the greatest mark of honour next to the royal rank. When the king gave to someone a tiara, this implied the right to occupy a place at the royal table and to take part in the council of the

²² See my book, pl. XVIII, fig. 394.

king. Even foreigners were admitted in the classes of the very eminent.²³

As for the series of the supreme officials of the central administration, we owe to Mas'ūdī,²⁴ an interesting notice. This Arab author says that the highest officers of the State, among the Persians, were five, of whom the first rank was held by the *mōbedān mōbed* (the high priest). Ya'qūbī²⁵ has given a list of the most important dignitaries of the Sāsānian State. Immediately after the king of kings, he mentions the *wazurg framādār* (the prime minister) and then the *mōbedān mōbed*. Mr. Christensen (p. 30) has reason to remark that, concerning the five supreme posts of the empire, there is no doubt that Mas'ūdī has given exactly as he found them in the old royal almanac (*gāhnāmak*). Thus, the order, which Ya'qūbī has observed in his enumeration, responds almost to the real situation of the time of Khusrau I (531-579). According to the 'Denkard',²⁶ the *mōbedān mōbed* came after the king.

From this, we may conclude that the personage wearing a mural crown without globe, represented on the reverse of most of the coins of the early Sāsānian kings, was the *mōbedān mōbed*, the superior of all the *mōbeds*, the great pontiff or the Pope of the Zoroastrian world. It was quite natural that the head of the State and the head of the Church were the guardians of the sacred fire.

Mr. Vasmer (p. 299 sq.) expresses the opinion that the weapon held by the king and the priest is not a sword, but a bundle of *barsom*. Such questions should be interpreted in the light of the religious cult and the historical traditions of the period. There is no ceremony in the sacred writings of the Zoroastrians in which the *barsom* is held near the fire, precisely as it is represented on the coins. The king and the priest are represented in the attitude of guardians of the sacred fire (the holy warrior), that is as defenders of the faith. [In the Avestā, fire is called 'the holy warrior.'] The proper weapon for this service is a sword. Sir J. C. Coyajee²⁷ has conclusively proved that the figure with the solar halo around his head, on the Tāq-i Bostān,

²³ A Christensen, 'L' Empire des Sassanides', p. 99 sq.

²⁴ 'Kitāb at-tanbih wa'l-istrāf', ed. by Goeje, 'Bibl. geogr. Arab.' Vol. VIII, p. 103, cited by Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

²⁵ Ed. by Houtsma, Vol. I, p. 202, cited by Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

²⁶ Ed. by Sanjana, Vol. VI, p. 423.

²⁷ 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', 1926, pp. 391-409.

is Bahrām *yazata*, the angel of victory, and that the weapon, which he holds in his hands, is a sword. On comparing the length of the weapon on the Sāsānian coins with that of the figure on the Tāq, it seems to be certain that the weapon represented on the coins is really a sword. An equal comparison with the weapon held by the king on the Persid coins of the third series, during the first century before Christ, would give the same result. There appears to be a remarkable resemblance between the figure on the Tāq, and those of the king and the priest on Sāsānian coins, and also that of the king on the Persid coins, as regards the attitude and the manner of holding the sword. Obviously, it was a regulation manner to present the weapon in religious ceremonies. Other ways of holding the sword or other weapons on similar occasions are also found on Sāsānian coins.

The gradual tendency to identify or to confuse the attributes of the sacred fire (the holy warrior) and Bahrām *yazata* (the angel of victory) was complete some centuries before Ardashīr I (224-241) succeeded the Arsacids. It must be remembered that we treat of an epoch of syncretisms. We know from the 'Kārnāmak' that this king had established sacred fires of Bahrām, in order to procure favourable auspices. This identification is also found in the establishment of other fires of Bahrām in Persia and also by the Pārsīs in India. The angel Mithra was the guardian angel of the Achaemenians and the Arsacids, whereas the angel Bahrām was of the Sāsānians. The 'Kārnāmak' and the 'Shāhnāmāh' both attribute to this angel the good fortune which Ardashīr had to escape from the great dangers which threatened him. On Sāsānian coins we often find kings and even a queen and a prince wearing crowns ornamented with crests representing the eagle, the boar, the horse and the ram, which all are the incarnations of the same angel. On all important occasions, the Sāsānian kings testified their devotion to their guardian angel. It may be interesting to remark that this angel remains the same even at the present time, the guardian angel of the followers of Zoroaster. From the description of the characteristics of Bahrām *yazata*, such as given in 'Bahrām Yasht' (verses 26-27),²⁸ we know that this angel is the best armed of the heavenly deities, and that he holds a sword with a golden blade (or a golden hilt, according to other translators). Even at the present day, in almost all the temples, a sword is kept fastened on one of the walls of the room where

28 'Sacred Books of the East', Vol. XXIII, p. 238.

the sacred fire is installed. This fact may corroborate the opinion that, according to this identification, the sword is a necessary attribute of the sacred fire (the holy warrior) and of Bahrām yazata, the angel of victory.

No. 5. On certain coins of Bahrām II (276-293), it is difficult to determine the animal represented above the crown of the queen and that of the prince. Vasmer²⁹ has remarked that what we have taken for the head of an eagle above the crown of the prince, on certain coins, is rather that of a lion. Similarly, I propose to mention certain coins on which the head appears to me to be that of a horse instead of a boar. It must be admitted that these animals are generally so badly engraved that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the head is that of a boar or that of a horse. The drachm of this king, which is the subject of this note, bears the head of a horse above the crown of the queen and that of the prince. A similar piece was described by Mordtmann.³⁰ With the help of the specimen, which is in my cabinet, I am able to determine that on the following coins the head represented is that of a horse and not that of a boar.

I. Type with the bust of the king and the prince.

Above the crown of the prince:

A drachm in the Ermitage Museum.³¹

II. Type with the busts of the king, the queen and the prince.

A. *Above the crown of the queen:*

1. A gold coin in the Berlin Museum.³²

2. A drachm in the Ermitage Museum (No. 214).

B. *Above the crown of the prince:*

A drachm in the cabinet of the author.³³

C. *Above the crowns of the queen and the prince:*

1. A drachm in the British Museum.³⁴

2. An obol in the British Museum.³⁵

3. An obol in the Ermitage Museum (No. 219).

4. A gold coin in the Zubow Collection preserved in the Historical Museum in Moscow.³⁶

FURDOONJEE D. J. PARUCK

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁰ 'Z.D.M.G.', 1880, p. 158, No. 547.

³¹ Vasmer, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, fig. 32.

³² See my book pl. VI, fig. 133.

³³ See my book, pl. VII, fig. 144.

³⁴ See my book, pl. VII, fig. 134.

³⁵ See my book, pl. VII, fig. 158.

³⁶ Vasmer in 'Numismatik international Monatsschrift', Oct.-Nov., 1933, p. III, fig. 12.

SOME RARE AND UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE SINDHIAS.

[Plates X-XI.]

For a study of the coins of the Sindhias it is necessary to follow up the history of the growth and rise of this dynasty which once influenced the history of the whole of India. The later Mughals were Emperors in name and nothing but their name is connected with the coinage of India during the 18th and 19th centuries. After the invasion of Nadir in 1739, during the reign of Muhammad Shah most of the States and local authorities took over the control of currency in their own hands and consequently a number of mints sprang up. Almost every important district town had a mint during the sway of the Marathas. This holds good in the case of the Sindhias as well. We are here dealing with only a few of such mints. Though the name of the Mughal Emperor and his regnal year with the corresponding Hijri date appear on these coins, they must be assigned to the Sindhias on historical grounds. An overhauling re-examination, based on this theory, of coins assigned to later Mughals hitherto, is in hand. In the meanwhile, some coins in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, that can be assigned to the Sindhias without any fear of contradiction, are being published here in order of mints. Coins Nos. 1 to 6 are silver, the remainder are copper coins.

SHEOPUR.

Sheopur, commonly known as Sheopuri or Sipri, is a district town of the Gwalior State situated in $25^{\circ} 40'$ N. and $76^{\circ} 42'$ E. on the right bank of the river Sip. The town and the fort here are said to have been founded by Gaur-Rajputs in 1537. In 1567 the fort was surrendered to Akbar during his march to Chittor. In 1808 the country fell to Daulat Rao Sindhia. He granted this place and the adjoining tract to his general Jean Baptist Filose, who wrested the fort from the Gaurs in 1809.*

It is said that Sindhia's general mentioned above established

* Imp. Gaz., Vol. XXII, P. 271-72.

a mint at Sheopur with a cannon surmounted on a gun carriage as mint mark. It is not possible without a reference to the records of the State to say exactly when this mint was closed. But from the evidence of coins mentioned below it can be safely said that the mint was working down to the end of the reign of Jiyaji Rao II (1843 to 1886). The mint is not mentioned in I.M.C., Vol. IV. W. H. Valentine does not seem to have been aware of the existence of coins from this Mint. They were, however, dealt with in a paper entitled "Notes on Coins of Native States" by R. Hoernle as early as 1897 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXVI, part I.), wherein he has given a short description of coins based almost entirely on materials supplied to him by Mr. C. Maires, the then Curator of the Museum and Superintendent of the Horticultural Garden at Gwalior at the suggestion of His Highness the then Maharaja of Gwalior. This article includes many rare coins though the assignment in some cases needs revision. The coins put under Seorha, Ciopur and Sipri mints can all be grouped together under Sheopur. These coins are locally known as Sheopuri or Topshahi rupees. There are three specimens of this in our cabinet. All are in the name of Akbar II with his regnal year and the corresponding Hijri date. No. 1 was issued during the reign of Daulat Rao Sindhia while Nos. 2 and 3 belong to Jiyajirao, who seems to have continued the name and regnal year of Akbar II throughout, like the Holkars of Indore, irrespective of the change of rulers and events at Delhi. Coin No. 3, for instance, bears the R.Y. 113 of Akbar II corresponding with the Hijri year 1333 (1886 A.D.) when neither the ruler nor the Mughal empire existed any more.

I.

Obv.

(محمد) اکبر شاہ دہلوی (غاز)
صاحب قران شاہ
سنگ مبارک

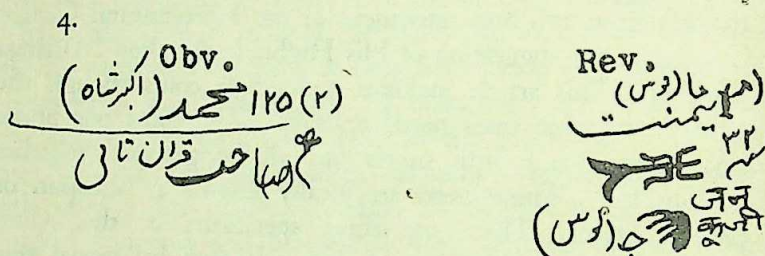
Rev.

نہر جیوس (غاز)
ضرب شد
سنگ مبارک

2. Same as above in a crude caligraphy with the date 1271 on the obverse above حب of صاحب and the initial letter جی of Jiyajirao on سنہ on the reverse.
3. Same as above except the Regnal year 113 which can be seen on both the sides of the coin.

BASODA.

Basoda is a small portion of Gwalior State comprising about 23 villages bordering on Bhopal and is under the Bhopal agency. It is under the chiefship of a family of Nawabs tracing their establishment from the middle of the 18th century. In 1817 Basoda fell into the hands of Sindhias and the coins said to have been issued from this mint bear the name of Jankoji on the reverse in Devanagari characters. The mint marks, however, resemble those of Bhopal, viz., a trident on shaft and a chauri or flywhisk on the reverse and the date is the 32nd regnal year of Akbar II together with corresponding Hijri date 1252, i.e., 1836 A.D. The coin reads:—

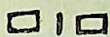


There is no mint name to be seen on this coin. Out of about half a dozen coins noticed by me, not a single coin showed any trace of the mint name. All the same Mr. Hoernle has assigned a similar coin to this mint and it is locally also known as Basodi rupee. Hence it is given here. Possibly a collective study of a hoard of these coins may give a definite clue.

ISAGADH.

5. Like the Basoda rupees, on the basis of local nomenclature, Hoernle has assigned a rupee and half rupee to the mint Isagadh.* Isagadh is a district town in Gwalior State, formerly belonging to the Rajas of Chanderi. It is divided into four Parganas with headquarters at Bajranggad, Kumbhraj, Isagadh and Mungaoti. Hoernle describes the coins as having the legend صاحب قران on the obverse and جارس on the reverse with the symbols of two cannons, one above the other, below the legend and □ | □ above the upper cannon on the obverse, and on the reverse two cannons similarly placed with the letter ج (ja) to the left and a bow and an arrow below. We have a

* J.B.A.S., 1897, P. 266, Nos. 22 & 23, Pl. XXII.

similar coin in the Prince of Wales Museum cabinet. The mint name cannot be seen on this coin too, but what Hoernle takes as two cannons are the strokes of ت of میمنت and ب of ضرب respectively on the reverse and the strokes ے of غازی and ن of نانی respectively on the obverse. The letter ज stands for Jankoji. The legend on our coin being of a better caligraphy clears the mystery of the two cannons on either side. It has the usual legend of Akbar II with the letter ज and the symbol of bow and arrow on the reverse and the mark  on the obverse, the explanation of which I have not yet been able to find.

6. There is another silver coin in the aforesaid cabinet which does not show any mint name but can be safely assigned to Jankoji Sindhia. It has the usual legend of Akbar II on the obverse with the Hijri date 1248 corresponding with 1833, the year in which Jankoji took over the reins of administration from the queen regent Baijabai. The reverse bears the fragmentary portions of the usual legend of جاکو بس میمنت مانوس with two symbols, bow and arrow and a battle axe with the regnal year 28 (of Akbar II). The initial letter ज standing for Jankoji can be seen placed upside down in the middle.

BURHANPUR.

Burhanpur is at present a tahsil town in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces. During the Muhammadan rule it played a very important part in the history of India and had all along been a mint town. The issues of the Mughals begin from Akbar's conquest of this place in 1600 A.D. In 1760 Burhanpur was ceded by the Nizam to the Peshwa who, after 18 years, transferred the place to Sindhia. The old mint continued even during this period down to the year 1860 when the British finally got possession of the place. Coins of the Burhanpur mint assigned to the later Mughals after 1720 A.D. need revision. Mr. H. N. Wright, in his Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Indian Museum, is inclined to assign coins Nos. 2346 and 2347 included therein to the Sindhias who had complete control over the finances and administration of the place. Even the crude caligraphy and the symbols on the coins point towards the same direction. Coins of this mint, therefore, issued after 1760 A.D. even in the name of the Mughal emperors must be

assigned to the Sindhias. A study of the marks on these coins shows that in the earlier stages they bore the same Mughal mint mark (No. 105 I.M.C. III) of a tree which continued in a cruder form and was finally changed into a flower. To this mark was added the trident or a snake at a later stage.

It is usually noticed that the coins issued by local authorities or various Indian States invariably bear the name of the Mughal emperor till 1275, i.e. 1857 A.D., the date of the Indian Mutiny which finally closed the possibility of the revival of the Mughal rule in India. From this date the States began to have their coins in their own names instead of the Mughal Emperor's or substituted it, with that of the British sovereign. But from the coins published herewith, it appears that as early as 1260, i.e. 1842 A.D. the Sindhias had already introduced their own title of Alijah Bahadur on the coins. Let us now see some coins of this mint issued by the Sindhias.

7. This is a dumpy copper coin with big Persian letters showing only the word شاه عالم of شاه on the obverse and the word ضرب with the Mughal Mint mark of a tree.

8. This is similar to No. 7 but bears the inverse stamp of شاه عالم on the obverse, which is evidently the die cutter's mistake while introducing this new legend. The obverse though indistinct shows the same mint mark clearly.

9. This is a similar copper coin with the mistake corrected. The obverse has شاه عالم in the first line and a part of شاه while on the reverse we find the central mint mark changed into a five petalled flower with a snake to the right which is also a symbol of the Sindhias used even to this day on the copper issues in a modified form. We also find the figure 60 to the left of the flower which is without doubt meant to be preceded by 12. In the lowest line can be read letters reading هان evidently of Burhanpur. So, this is definitely a coin issued by Madho Rao in 1260 A.H. from Burhanpur mint.

10. This is a similar coin of Madho Rao Sindhia issued from this mint in the year 1275 A.H., i.e. 1857 A.D.

The legend on this coin is the same on the obverse while the reverse shows the symbols of the flower and snake prominently with the date (1) ۲۷۵. The lower margin shows traces of the mint mark.

11. This is the same as No. 10 but the specimen being clearer affords an easier reading. The coin reads:—

Obv.
عالمیاجا
در (س.)

Rev.
۱۲۷۵
برهانپور (س.)

On some coins of this type we find the mint name written in the original form as برهانپور.

UJJAIN.

Ujjain is a very ancient town and from a very remote age of the punchmarked coins down to the advent of the British rule, coins were issued from this place by the respective ruling powers at different intervals. It has been the capital of Malwa (the ancient Avanti of the Malava desh). Like Burhanpur, Ujjain also fell to the Sindhias during the declining period of the later Mughals. In 1726, Ranoji Sindhia, founder of the present house of Gwalior got the right to collect chauth (25%) and Sardeshmukhi (10%) in the Malwa district on behalf of the Peshwa Bajirao I and was allowed the remaining (65%), Mokassa for himself. He fixed up his capital at Ujjain and carried on the administration of the Province till his death in 1745. It remained the capital of the Sindhias' dominions till the year 1810 when the headquarters were removed to Gwalior.

As the mint marks or symbols of the Sindhias, he adopted a dagger or a sword, an emblem of bravery and a trident, an emblem of Shiva who is the presiding deity of the town, being sacred to the Hindus. Ujjain is the abode of Mahankaleswara, one of the 12 Jyotirlingas of Shiva. Thus their religious zeal and military spirit are both depicted on the coins of the Sindhias. We have, for instance, a number of coins in the name of the later Mughals with one or both of these symbols on them. They must be assigned to the Sindhias and not to the Mughals, as has been done hitherto. Under the mint note of Ujjain in Vol. III, Nelson Wright has himself made it clear that the series of coins on P. 295-96 of that Catalogue can only by courtesy be called Mughal coins. They all bear the distinctive mark (sword) of the Sindhias. In a later stage these coins and specially the copper coins had very little of the legend while the symbols occupied the prominent position.

12. This is a copper coin of the Ujjain series with a sword on the obverse in the centre with a fragment of س and a trident in the س of perhaps جارس and traces of مائرس above on the reverse. There is no date or mint name to be seen but the symbols are indicative enough of the mint and the issuing authority.

13. This is a coin with a different type of dagger with fragments of usual legend جارس ميمذت مائرس on the reverse side below and a part of عاليجه above on the reverse and some letters reading like بائر باجه (Bai Baja) with the date 12 on the obverse. Can this be a coin of Baijabai issued during her regency between 1827 and 1833? This requires further investigation.

14. This coin has the year 16 on the obverse and a prominently placed dagger of the type of coin No. 13 on the reverse.

15. This is a dumpy coin with a shorter dagger surrounded by a dotted border leaving practically no space for any inscription on the obverse; on the reverse, while the upper half of the coin is worn out, the lower half shows crude writing which can be read on some coins of this type as جين of Ujjain. This mint name together with the dagger help in assigning these coins to the Sindhias. It is, however, impossible to assign them to any ruler.

16. Similar to No. 15 on the obverse while the reverse bears a trident surrounded by dots which is again a Ujjain symbol of the Sindhias.

17. There is still a third variety of dagger to be noticed on this coin with a similar dotted border on the obverse and a trident in the lower two thirds of the reverse with a horizontal line above. There are traces of some letters in the left corner one of which is evidently ضرب of

18. Obverse, similar to No. 17 while the reverse has a few dots and lines which cannot be explained.

19. This small coin bears the name of Muhammad Shah who ruled from 1131 to 1161 A.H. He was a weak ruler and most of the States issued coins in his name with their own distinctive symbols. Here we have a trident, the Ujjain mint mark of the Sindhias, on the reverse with 57 as a part of the date 1157. This falls within the administration of the founder.

of the dynasty Ranoji who was in power at Ujjain between 1139 and 1158 A.H. We may, therefore, assign this coin to Ranoji Sindhia. The arrangement of the coin is as under:—

Obv.

محمد شاه
بادشاہ

Rev.

طبرستان
سازمان

20. This coin is similar in size and legends to No. 19 but the legend on the obverse is more fragmentary in as much as only *دشا* of *بادشاہ* can be seen on the obverse while on the reverse we have fragments of *جلوس میمنت مانوس* and *ضرب* with two symbols—a trident (of Ujjain) and a tree (the mint mark of Burhanpur). It cannot be said which of the Sindhias issued this coin with both the mint marks together, but it seems to have been issued, definitely later than No. 19 and earlier than Nos. 7 to 10. The mint is uncertain.

21. This is a square copper coin having on the obverse *شاه* with date 30 and a six petalled flower which may be a further corrupted form of the Burhanpur mint mark. On the reverse there is a line dividing the coin diagonally in proportion of $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$. The larger area shows a part of the trident and inverted fragment *جلوس* of *جلوس*. The traces of letters in the remaining portion are illegible. If we take 30 to be the R.Y. of Akbar II, the coin can be assigned to Jiyajirao (1827-1843 A.D.).

22. This is similar to No. 21, but the date on *شاه* of the obverse side is 106 which, if taken as a continued regnal year of Akbar II, corresponds with 1306 A.H. which falls during the reign of Madho Rao Sindhia.

23 to 26. Like the above coins there is still another variety which bears the flower of Burhanpur on the obverse and a trident of Ujjain on the reverse in modified forms. These coins can be safely said to be the forerunners of the current Gwalior pice. The arrangement on these coins is as under:—

Obv.

گل
۲

Rev.

۴

Obv.:—A shafted lance to the left and the snake above the flower mark to the right with the letter ज्ञ (standing for Jayajirao) in the middle with 2 or 12 below, which may be a part of the Hijri date twelve hundred and odd.

Rev.:—An ordinary or a shafted trident with the trace of a date standing probably for the regnal year with ل of چارس placed upside down.

All the four coins seem to have been issued by Jiyaji. They are illustrated here to facilitate a collective study and to show slight differences in each of them in the ornamentation of the trident and lance.

The mint is uncertain. Possibly they may have been issued from Gwalior by Jiyajirao.

In Vol. IV of the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, we have a dynastic list of the Sindhis beginning from Daulat Rao. But as in this paper we have dealt with the coins of earlier rulers as well, it would not be out of place to give a list of all the rulers of that dynasty from the founder down to the present ruler with Hijri and A.D. dates for ready reference.

		A.H.	A.D.
(1)	Ranoji ...	1139-1158	1726-1745
(2)	Jayappa. or Jiyaji I	1158-1173	1745-1759
(3)	Jankoji ...	1173-1175	1759-1761
	(He was killed in the third battle of Panipat)		
(4)	Mahadji ...	1175-1209	1761-1794
(5)	Daulatrao ...	1209-1243	1794-1827
(6) (a)	Baijabai (Queen Regent)	1243-1249	1827-1833
(b)	Jankoji Rao	1243-1259	1827-1843
	(He assumed power in 1833).		
(7)	Jayajirao II ...	1259-1302	1843-1886
(8)	Madho Rao ...	1302-1341	1886-1925
	(Obtained powers in 1894 on attaining majority).		
(9) (a)	Court of Regency ...	1341-1353	1925-1936
(b)	Jeewaji Rao — ...	The present ruler installed in 1936 A.D.	

R. G. GYANI.

THE LAW OF TREASURE TROVE IN INDIA AND THE PRACTICE IN DEALING WITH IT.*

The method by which the East India Company dealt with cases of treasure trove is described in Harrington's *Analysis of the Bengal Laws and Regulations* (Vol. iii, p. 764). At the outset, probably following the practice of Mughal governors, the Company appears to have claimed everything found. As this led to oppression a proclamation was issued in 1777 declaring that, for the future, 'all treasure shall be the property of those who may discover it'. This sweeping renunciation of claims was modified later by a resolution that it should apply only to cases where the treasure found did not exceed a lac of rupees. Hidden treasure which exceeded that amount should be at the disposal of government if no owner was ascertained. Inquiry was then made from the law officers of the Court of Sadar Diwani (or chief civil court) to ascertain the provisions of Muhammadan and Hindu law, and as their reports differed materially from each other it was decided to lay down uniform principles.

According to Hindu texts, as quoted by the Pandits, a learned Brahman who found a treasure was entitled to the whole. If the king himself discovered a treasure he should give half to the Brahmans and retain the rest. Opinions differed as to the rights of other finders. Manu and Yājñavalkya declared that the finder might keep one-sixth but must surrender the rest to the king. Gautama would give the whole to the king except a trifle to the finder. Viṣṇu would distinguish cases as the finder was a Kṣatriya, a Vaisya or a Śūdra, making each of them surrender a stated portion both to the king and to Brahmans. The Pandits thought that Manu's dictum should be followed.

The Muslim law officers drew a distinction between treasure which bore a distinctly Mussalman impression, such as the Kalinā, a verse from the Qoran or the name of a Muhammadan

* We are indebted to Sir Richard Burn for obtaining permission for the re-publication of his valuable paper in this Journal so that the important information contained in it may be available to numismatists and collectors in India. As the paper was originally published in the Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936, it has been revised and brought up-to-date by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director General of Archaeology in India, and President of the Numismatic Society of India—Ed., J.N.S.I.

king, and treasure bearing other impressions such as the image of an idol, or the name of a non-Muslim king. Muslim treasure became the property of the finder if after he had advertised, it properly no claimant proved a title to it. It was added that if the finder were a rich person he must bestow it in alms upon the poor, though the pauper recipients might be his parents, children, or wives.

Of non-Muslim treasure the king was entitled to a share of one-fifth, and the finder to the remainder if the treasure was found in waste land. The authorities differed as to the rights of the finder when the find-spot lay in appropriated land, some giving the four-fifths not to him but to the person to whom that land was first granted after the subjugation of the country by the faithful, or to his heirs. But it was said to be the universally received opinion that when an existing proprietor laid claim to the trove, declaring that it was deposited by himself, his declaration was to be credited.

Regulation 5 of 1817 embodied in law the rules for dealing with cases. It applied to hidden treasure consisting of gold or silver coin, or bullion, or precious stones or other valuable property found buried in the earth or otherwise concealed, and it laid down a procedure of inquiry. A finder was required to notify his discovery within one month to the district or city judge, and to deposit the treasure in court. Failure to notify rendered him liable to lose his rights to it. The discovery was advertised and a period of six months allowed for claim. Any claim of title made was inquired into, and if no right was proved the finder received the whole treasure up to a value of one lac, any excess going to government. An appeal lay from the judge's order to the provincial court. Revenue officers had to bring forward any claim of right which government might appear to possess.

Similar provisions were enacted for the Madras Presidency in 1832 and 1838, and were applied to territories acquired later, such as the Punjab, Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma. They remained in force till 1878, when Act VI of that year replaced them. The reasons for new legislation are of interest. It was found very doubtful what law was actually in force in the Bombay Presidency outside the city. In the three Presidency towns of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta it was not certain what law applied and it was thought probable that English law was in force there. The Regulation of 1817 had been found to give inducements to the finder to conceal or make away with his treasure. Sir Stuart Bayley when he introduced the Bill stated

that in the last thirty years he had known no case in which government had benefitted by a share, as no trove had been reported exceeding a lakh in value.

By the new Act which is still in force treasure is now defined as 'anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto.' A finder of treasure exceeding in amount or value ten rupees is required to give notice in writing to the Collector of the district showing the nature and amount or approximate value of the treasure, the place where it was found and the date of finding, and he either deposits the treasure in a government treasury or gives security for its production when required. A notification is then published calling for claims on a date between four and six months later. Notice is also given to the person in possession of the place where the treasure was found if he was not the finder.

If the Collector sees reason to believe that the treasure was hidden within 100 years before the date of finding by a person who appears, or by some other under whom such person claims, he adjourns the inquiry to allow the claimant to establish his right in a civil court. Failing such a decision and where the treasure appears to be more than 100 years old the Collector may declare the treasure 'ownerless', subject to an appeal by any aggrieved person to the Chief Revenue Authority. If there is a dispute as to the ownership of the land a period is allowed for decision by the civil court. When all these questions are decided the law provides that in the absence of any agreement to the contrary the finder takes three-fourths and the owner of the land one-fourth.

But when treasure has been declared 'ownerless' the Collector may acquire all or any part of it on behalf of government, and in that case he values the amount to be acquired at a sum equal to the value of the materials of such treasure or portion together with one-fifth of such value.

This provision for acquisition by government at a price fixed by the intrinsic value of the treasure plus a definite percentage was explained by Sir S. Bayley as borrowed from a law in force in Denmark which had had the result of marking the government collection of national antiquities in that country the finest then existing. It is gratifying to know that the working of Act VI of 1878 has certainly improved the official collections of coins in India.

Penalties for failing to report finds have been made more severe, as a finder who does not give notice is liable not only to forfeit his share, but also to fine and imprisonment. And the

owner of the place of finding, if he abets the finder, may also lose his share and be fined and imprisoned.

Now we pass on to the measures taken to advise government as to what specimens should be acquired by the Collector on its behalf when the treasure consists of coins. In 1884 the Government of India issued a resolution to guide Local Governments in this matter, as the power of making rules under the Act of 1878 was vested in them. They were advised to frame rules directing that Collectors should invariably acquire for government all old coins not of British mintage. They were then to send the coins to the Asiatic Society of the Presidency in which the coins had been discovered for report on the nature of the coins and their numismatic value. Specimens worth acquiring were to be given to certain public collections in a specified order and the rest sold at the mints. The instructions that all coins should be acquired was modified almost immediately and discretion was allowed, though in some provinces indiscriminate acquisition continued. It was reported that the Madras branch of the Royal Asiatic was practically defunct and coins found in that Presidency were examined by the authorities of the museum. Other variations were made from time to time in the arrangements for skilled examination which need not be detailed. In 1899 it became necessary to reconsider this matter in the United Provinces where coins had latterly been examined at the Lucknow Museum and the Government decided to appoint a small committee of persons interested in numismatics, one of whom acted as secretary and prepared a detailed report which was circulated to other members for their criticisms and also contained proposals in regard to the acquisition and distribution of specimens. At that time and almost continuously since then members were and have been available whose joint interests covered the entire field of coins found in the United Provinces.

In 1905 the Director-General of Archaeology, Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall, referred the whole question to the Government of India at the instance of the late Mr. Henry Cousens, who was in charge of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Mr. Cousens pointed out that though he was examining on behalf of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and reporting on treasure trove found in Bombay, the Poona Museum which was in his charge received no specimens as it was not on the list drawn up by the Government of India twenty years earlier. Inquiries showed that the Asiatic Society of Bengal was still responsible for examining coins from Bengal, Assam, Bihar,

the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, while Dr. (now Sir Aurel) Stein examined those found in the North-West Frontier Province, and the arrangements in Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces were as already described. It was also ascertained that the procedure in Bengal had not been satisfactory. Before Mr. Nelson Wright was appointed Honorary Numismatist to the Society in 1905, no detailed record of each find was maintained, though in the past scholars like Blochmann and Hoernle had published accounts of specially interesting discoveries. Some local governments were unable to say what had become of treasure they had sent to Calcutta. Official attitude is sometimes sceptical about the value of such things. In 1891 a Secretary to the Government of India wrote in criticism of a proposal to purchase a celebrated collection:

'There is perhaps no very useful object gained in making a complete collection of coins any more than in making a complete collection of postage stamps. Every new coin found may be of historical use and interest, but known coins described already are of little use and cost a good deal. If required for comparison duplicate sets can be obtained at any time from the British Museum. It is doubtful, therefore, if any encouragement should be given to the purchase of known coins merely for the purpose of making a collection more perfect.'

I have heard a similar expression of belief by the author of a well-known book on the history of an Oriental country more recently, but I do not find it shared by the Keeper of the Coins in the British Museum or by his assistants. Fortunately it was not shared by the Government of India, which in 1907 issued general orders that still govern the main principles of dealing with treasure trove.

In the first place they laid stress on the importance of recording the origin, surroundings, and exact nature of each find, pointing out that such a record might be of value for two reasons: it might throw light on the history of the place of discovery, or it might give a clue to the attribution and arrangement of different series of coins. To secure such records the value of which increases with their number and accuracy local governments were asked to communicate with the Director-General of Archaeology, who undertook to maintain a list of persons who were competent and willing to examine coins and prepare reports on them. At present every Province and many of the larger States have been able to make satisfactory arrangements for examination, and I hope that records are being maintained. Rai Bahadur

Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, who is Secretary to the Committee in the United Provinces, tells me that for the last thirty-six years they have detailed records filed in the Museum of 95,326 coins which have been received as treasure trove. It not infrequently happens that finds are reported the intrinsic value of which is less than Rs. 10. In such cases the practice in the United Provinces is to offer the numismatic value, and many coins have been acquired in that way.

One important provision made by the Government of India in 1921 deserves attention. According to the Treasure Trove Act the finder of a treasure is entitled only to one-fifth of the value in addition to the intrinsic or bullion value of a treasure. In order to induce the finders of treasure of exceptional value to report the discovery, special rewards are now allotted to the legal claimants by the Director General of Archaeology in the case of valuable finds. A reward of Rs. 500/- was given in accordance with this provision for the find of an exceptionally rich hoard of Bengal Sultāns at Keteen in the Dacca District.

It is gratifying to find that the lead of British India in respect of the Treasure Trove Act and the regulations thereunder is followed by several of the forward Indian States, and such of the States as have not yet enacted such laws have agreed to adopt the provisions in dealing with finds of Treasure Trove within their jurisdiction.

Arrangements for publication vary. Important finds are often described in detail in various journals, while annual notices are published in Museum or Archaeological Reports and the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India includes a summary of all such notices as are received by the department. Beginning with the present issue information regarding Treasure Trove will be published in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Since 1931 a note on Indian numismatics has appeared in the *Annual Bibliography* published by the Kern Institute at Leyden.

After examination, the question of the disposal of the coins arises, and in 1907 it was decided to alter the order in which collections had been arranged for the receipt of duplicates. First choice is given to the principal museum in the Province in which a treasure has been found. It had been argued that the Indian Museum should come first, or that a rare coin should go to the Museum nearest the place where it had been struck. But it was pointed out that local enthusiasm had made several Provincial Museums richer in various series than the Indian Museum and

that students would be more likely to visit their own institutions than Calcutta. And to the second argument it was replied that modern territorial divisions did not coincide with ancient kingdoms. The Indian Museum was, therefore, placed next after the provincial museum, and the remaining official museums in India, numbering about a dozen at that time, were ranged in order of the importance of their existing collections. After supplying specimens to all these, the British Museum was named, and then local museums in a province maintained by universities or other non-official bodies. If coins of real numismatic value turn up in numbers more than sufficient to supply all institutions on the list the extra coins are also acquired and placed on sale at the museum or at one of the mints in India. Such coins are advertised, and collectors may register their names to receive lists of them. After five years those remaining unsold are melted down.

One difficulty in distribution arose from the absence of catalogues, as it is unnecessary in many cases to send duplicates to a museum. That has been remedied by the publications of Dr. V. A. Smith, Mr. Nelson Wright, and Mr. Allan for the Indian Museum, of Mr. Whitehead for Lahore, of Mr. C. J. Brown and Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal for Lucknow, of Drs. Thurston and Henderson for Madras, Mr. C. S. Botham for Assam, and of Messrs. Singhal and Acharya for the Gujarāt coins in the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay. It is to be hoped that other museums will follow suit.

In this connection it is fitting to refer to the stimulus to numismatic studies in India caused by the foundation of the Numismatic Society of India in 1910 through the energy of Mr. Nelson Wright. Its publication, the Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (now the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India), has spread an interest throughout the country which has shown itself in advancing knowledge and in the enrichment of public and private collections. We have seen and heard much lately about Federation in India, and are waiting to see what is going to happen in the matter of administrative relations. The latest report I have received from Lucknow shows that in numismatics federal relations have already come into existence. As many as thirty-four Durbars of Indian States have entered into exchange relations with the United Provinces and several more desire to obtain by exchange certain classes of coins. The omen seems favourable.

R. BURN.

REVIEWS

TWO CATALOGUES OF COINS, CHIEFLY OF THE BENGAL SULTĀNS.

Catalogue of Coins presented to the Dacca Museum by Sayyid A. S. M. Taifoor, by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. With 6 Plates. Pp. xx+40. Rs. 2.

Catalogue of Coins presented to the Dacca Museum by Hakim Habibar Rahman Khan, by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. With 3 Plates. Pp. 12+45. Rs. 2.

Both these collections were the outcome of many years' accumulation, handed down as heirlooms in their families by the ancestors of the two donors and added to by their own respective acquisitions. The two collections have greatly enriched the coin cabinet of the Dacca Museum and will help research in Muhammadan numismatics, especially of the Bengal period. The Taifoor collection, besides a few punch-marked coins, comprises the coins of five dynasties, of which the Sultāns of Bengal and Dehlī form the major portion. Hakim Habibar Rahman's collection, on the other hand, represents eleven ruling houses and here, too, the Bengal and Dehlī Sultāns predominate. Three coins of outstanding interest from the historical point of view merit mention here. Two are silver issues of Sher Shāh, one in each of the above-named collections, dated in 945 A.H. Another coin of Sher Shāh's bearing this date has been described and illustrated by H. Nelson Wright (*vide*: The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Dehlī, p. 270, coin 1040 B, Pl. 21), who also mentions a duplicate. This date puts back the coronation of Sher Shāh by a year. The third notable coin is in the Hakim Sahib's collection and is a silver piece of Humayun minted at Tānda, once the capital of Bengal during its later rulers. The mint name cannot unfortunately be read from the photograph of the coin.

Mention must be made of the author's discovery of some new mint names on some coins of these two collections: he has found, for instance, the mint name Chandrābād in coin No. 149 of Husain Shāh, Bārbakābād in No. 119 of Bārbak Shāh and Muzaffarābād in No. 132 of the same king in the Taifoor collection, and of his attempts at finding a satisfactory solution of the date 899 A.H., which appears on coins of Husain Shāh of Bengal as well as on rupees of some of his successors. We regret

that the symbols impressed on the nine punch-marked coins have not been described.

Dr. Bhattasali's method of describing the coins is interesting and peculiarly his own. Scholars will find a ready reference to important and exceptionally interesting specimens. The plates illustrating typical specimens seem to have been prepared with care and attention.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMED.

NEW VIEWS IN INDO-GREEK NUMISMATICS.

In trying to recover "a lost chapter in Hellenistic history", Dr. W. W. Tarn, in his work entitled 'The Greeks in Bactria and India', has brought together a mass of important materials which, with the strikingly original contribution made by him to his subject, will stimulate further research. I propose to discuss a few points which may be of immediate interest to investigators in the field of Indo-Greek numismatics. Dr. Tarn makes out a strong case for interpreting the monograms on Indo-Greek coins as denoting not mint-cities (as originally suggested by Cunningham) but names of moneyers. The recurrence of the same monogram in the coinage of several generations can be explained on the supposition that the moneyer's office was hereditary, so that the same name but not necessarily the same personality may lie hidden behind one and the same monogram. The theory must, however, labour under one difficulty. When a particular monogram is found on coins of king X as well as on coins of king Y, we cannot at once infer that X and Y reigned in succession, in the absence of corroborative evidence.

Perhaps the most startling suggestion is made in respect of the commemorative medallions associated prominently with the name of Agathocles. Dr. Tarn regards these issues as "Agathocles' pedigree coins", which is the caption of one of a number of important Appendices. To reach this far-reaching conclusion he draws upon the analogy of a fictitious pedigree set out in a series of inscriptions for which Antiochus I of Commagene was responsible. The inscriptions are stated to occur below representations of his ancestors "each inscription giving the name and patronymic of the corresponding figure; these inscriptions professedly give the respective pedigrees of his father, going back to Darius, and of his mother Laodice Thea Philadelphos, who was a Seleucid princess, a daughter of Antiochus VIII Grypus; and his mother's pedigree is the ordinary Seleucid pedigree but begins with Alexander." Dr. Tarn offers his own explanation of how the descent from Alexander may have been derived fictitiously by making Seleucus Nicator's wife, Apama, in reality the daughter of the Sogdian baron Spitamenes—a daughter of Alexander. He then proceeds to argue that a similar pedigree is intended to be proclaimed on behalf of Agathocles by his medallion series, admittedly struck in his reign but bearing on the obverse representations of Alexander, Antiochus Nikator,

Diodorus Soter, Euthydemus Theos and Demetrius Aniketos. By affiliating the two series he draws up the "fictitious" genealogy: Alexander—Apama (*m.* Seleucus I)—Antiochus I—Antiochus II (= Antiochus Nikator)—daughter (*m.* Diodotus)—daughter (*m.* Euthydemus of Magnesia)—Demetrius—Agathocles. Critics will probably be slow to accept the complete parallelism between the inscriptions series and the coin series; and the presence of a "fictitious" element will no doubt stand in the way of their utilisation as documents of genuine history. But there can be no doubt that Agathocles was, if not a son, at any rate a close relative—say a younger brother—of Demetrius; this is shown by the resemblance in features between Euthydemus and Agathocles. A similar resemblance may be detected between Demetrius and Pantaleon. And numismatists have long regarded Agathocles and Pantaleon as closely related by their coin-types and by their common employment of nickel for the type 'Bust of king as Dionysus: Maneless lion touching vine,' which I have connected with the locality called Nysa, whose people convinced Alexander of their special association with Dionysus and the vine-cult (IHQ., 1934, p. 511). Another link between Pantaleon and Agathocles is provided by their common coin-type bearing on one side a 'maneless lion' and on the other a female figure holding a lotus, usually described as a 'dancing girl'. Dr. Tarn has rejected my suggestion that she is the goddess of Pushkalāvati on the ground that "one cannot imagine the Fortune of a city without her mural crown and dancing, and on the solitary autonomous coin of Pushkalāvati she wears her mural crown". If, however, reference be made to the Indian Museum specimen figured by Smith (I.M.C., Pl. II, 2) the mural crown will be distinctly seen. On that specimen as well as on the specimens figured by Gardner (B.M.C., Pl. IV, 9) and by Whitehead (P.M.C. Pl. II, 35) we find below the lotus-bearing civic divinity the Indian crane, for which the Sanskrit name is 'sārasa', and 'Pushkara' can in Sanskrit signify both the 'lotus' and the 'sārasa'. "Eliminating the crane, the lotus-bearing divinity ceases to look like a dancing girl, although curiously enough the dancing pose might be justified by the fact that 'Pushkara' also means the art of dancing; and, apart from the circumstance that Indian deities are not always averse to poses usually associated with dancing, the instability of Fortune was proverbial and may possibly be represented by a dynamic pose.

A brilliant interpretation is offered by Dr. Tarn (p. 158) of the three-headed Hecate in the hand of Zeus on a silver type of

Agathocles. She is Hecate of the three ways, who was worshipped where three roads met and only one such meeting place of three ways can be meant, namely the meeting place of the three routes across the Hindu Kush from Bactria. Alexandria-Kapisa, that "gateway of the trade between India and the West" stood at the point of junction and Hecate of the three ways was doubtless worshipped there. Equally acute is the suggestion that Demetrius modelled much of his activity on Alexander's example. His title "Aniketos", 'the Invincible', is aptly connected with the story in Plutarch that, when Alexander visited the oracle of Delphi, the Pythea hailed him by that title.

The Graeco-Bactrian invasion of India is reconstructed on the basis that it was carried out by the joint efforts of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. Dr. Tarn accepts Rapson's theory of the contemporaneity of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander but contests the conclusion, and (I believe) rightly, that Menander belonged to the house of Euthydemus. It is, however, difficult to agree with him in his view that Apollodotus may have been a younger brother of Demetrius rather than a mere general or 'chief'. Demetrius' confidence in him cannot be made a measure of originally near relationship: the same confidence in Menander may be presumed on Dr. Tarn's own data. Dr. Tarn says that Apollodotus' regular coin-type for bronze is Seleucidan, but while the Seleucid type as noted by him has the 'Head of Apollo with Tripod lebes'; the type employed by Apollodotus 'Standing Apollo: Tripod lebes', as Rapson observes, bears "evident allusion to the king's name". Not recognising such "evident allusion", Dr. Tarn is led to express surprise at the circumstance that the royal portrait is absent from the coins of two other Indo-Greek princes. I suggest that the absence of royal portraits in these three cases—(quite exceptional in view of the general rule among the Indo-Greeks) can be best explained by their employment of types bearing allusion to their names or distinctive epithets. 'As Apollodotus' coins represent Apollo on the obverse in lieu of his own portrait, so the issues of Antimachus II, who takes the epithet 'Nikephoros', figure Nike on the obverse. The case of Telephus is more interesting. Dr. Tarn goes very near what appears to be the true solution when he observes that the silver issue of Telephus "shows on the obverse a serpent-footed giant and on the reverse a radiate king or god facing a male figure with horns, a group which might belong to Iranian mythology. The giant suggests that the artist of the coin had seen the Pergamene frieze,

another sign that intercourse with the west was maintained till the end; if we knew why the giant occupies the place on the coin normally filled by the king's head we might know who and what Telephus was." The allusion, I think, is to the mythical Telephus, son of Herakles, whose legend pervades the Pergamene scheme: what Apollo was to King Apollodotus, Telephus was to King Telephus. One other point of numismatic interest relates to Dr. Tarn's interpretation of the 'Wheel'—symbol along with the 'Palm' on a rare type struck by Menander. The Wheel has hitherto been considered to represent *dharmachakra*, symbolising Buddhism; but Dr. Tarn suggests that it signifies Menander's claim to political overlordship—to the status of a *chakravartin* in the political sense. I do not propose to argue at length here the question whether Menander became a Buddhist. But I may point out that, if the 'Wheel' of Menander had been intended to denote the status of political overlordship, we would hardly have found the same symbol on copper coins of Bhumaka, a mere satrap. Bhumaka probably ruled shortly after Menander, since he preceded Nahapana whose successor was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, founder of the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., as I hope to have shown in *Zeits. f. Ind. u. Iran.*, 1922, pp. 255 ff; and the coins of Bhumaka are found 'in the coasting regions of Gujarat and Kathiawad; and also some times in Malwa' (Rapson, *Andhra coins &c.*, p. cvii, citing Bhagvanlal), that is to say, in an area once subject to Indo-Greek sway. It seems more reasonable to hold that Menander's 'Wheel' and 'Palm' represent, in their combination, the Asokan concept of *dharmavijaya*—the 'Wheel' representing *dharma*, the 'Palm' representing *vijaya*. We find the concept specially emphasised by Asoka (in his Rock Edict XIII) in connection with his contemporary Hellenistic monarchs as also the Greek settlers (Yonas) in India; and Asoka exhorts his successors to pursue his ideal of *dharmavijaya*. It would be natural for the Indo-Greek Menander to proclaim his loyalty to the ideal; and grateful recollection of such loyalty would admirably account for the existence of the *Milinda-pañha*.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB.

NOTES AND NEWS

OURSELVES :

At the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, held in Calcutta on 26th December, 1938, the following Resolution was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously :

"Resolved that henceforth the journal of the Numismatic Society of India be published independently as the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India."

The Resolution gave expression to a long-felt desire of the members of the Society to have their own journal and marked the termination of the arrangement under which papers contributed to the Numismatic Society of India had been published as the "Numismatic Supplement" to the Journal of the Asiatic (now Royal Asiatic) Society of Bengal. We now present our readers with the first issue of our Journal published in accordance with the above Resolution. We are in complete accord with the remark made by Col. H. R. Neville, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret'd.), the then President, eleven years ago, when a journal which the Society could call its own was only a vision of the future, that such a journal should have but one standard, namely the highest. We have, therefore, endeavoured to maintain the high standard of excellence set by the first editors of the Numismatic Supplement, the predecessor of our Journal, and have attempted to improve upon it wherever possible. The present issue comprises fully a hundred pages, containing papers in almost every field of Indian numismatics and allied spheres, and nearly a dozen carefully prepared plates. The 'Notes and News' is a new feature and in this section we aim to give the latest available information regarding finds and acquisitions made by museums, both in India and abroad. News regarding treasure trove coins for sale will be included, whenever thought desirable. In this first issue we have even succeeded, through the ready collaboration of our contributors, in including exhaustive papers on some of the latest finds, e.g., the important find in Bastar State, C.P., made only a few months ago, and on some of the latest acquisitions made by museums, e.g., Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret'd.)'s paper on the recent additions to the collection of Mughal coins in the British Museum. We shall also keep our

readers informed about the publication of articles of interest in our field in other journals; wherever the importance of an article demands it we shall publish a comprehensive summary and, if considered desirable, the paper itself will, if possible, be reproduced with additions and alterations, if necessary, and in this connection we would refer to two valuable papers in this issue, one on Sāsānian coins and the other on the law and practice of treasure trove in India. To successfully accomplish these objects we look for co-operation to the Archæological Survey of India, the various museums, treasure trove authorities, journals devoted to the study of Indology and to all who are interested in Indian numismatics.

MUSEUM REPORTS :

The Director General of Archaeology in India, who is at present also the President of the Numismatic Society of India, requested a number of the principal museums to forward copies of their annual reports to the Editor so that information of interest to numismatists could be included in the Journal. The following reports have been received :

Annual Report of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, for the year 1937-38.

Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1938.

Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1937-38, as well as

Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1936-37, and
A Resume of the Activities of the Dacca Museum from 1926-27 to 1934-35 and Annual Report of the Dacca Museum for 1935-36.

Annual Report of the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, for the year ending 31st March, 1938.

No reports have been received from the Central Museum, Madras, the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (except a detailed statement regarding acquisitions to the Coin Cabinet), the Central Museum, Lahore, Nagpur Museum, Peshawar Museum, Phayre Rangoon Museum, Victoria Museum, Karachi, and Historical Museum, Satara.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS :

British Museum : The British Museum Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1938, mentions the acquisition of important gold

coins of Akbar and Jahāngīr from the collection of Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. (ret'd.). Mr. Nelson Wright has described the coins in this Journal (*vide*: pp. 43-49).

The *Indian Museum* acquired during the current year the twenty silver coins described in "A Treasure Trove Find of Silver Coins of Bengal Sultāns" by Maulavi Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmed in this issue (*vide*: pp. 36-37).

The Curator of the *Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, reports that 91 coins, of which 2 were gold, 40 silver and 49 copper, were acquired during the year 1938. Of the two gold coins purchased, one is a fine *muhr* of Jahāngīr, minted at Aḥmadābād in the fifteenth year of his reign, corresponding to A.H. 1029; it was formerly in the Gotha Museum. The other gold coin is a half *muhr* of Amjād 'Ālī Shāh of Oudh and was struck at Lucknow in A.H. 1258. The silver coins represent issues of the kings of Oudh required to fill gaps in the collection of Oudh coins, for which the claim is made that it is the most representative.

The *Prince of Wales Museum* acquired during 1937-38, 28 silver and 56 copper coins by presentation, and 23 gold, 89 silver and 53 copper coins by purchase. Beyond a brief statement as to the number of coins added to the cabinet and a classified list of the coins, no information is given as to whether any coins are of outstanding interest to numismatists. The list, however, shows that 9 silver and 3 copper punch-marked coins were purchased along with two copper Indo-Greek, 3 Indo-Parthian and 12 tribal coins of copper and 63 silver Sāsānian coins, the remaining coins being coins of the Sultāns of Dehli, the Mughal Emperors and the Indian States and one Indo-Portuguese coin.

Patna Museum: The Machuatoli (Patna) hoard of punch-marked coins, consisting of 2,232 coins, was the most important acquisition to the coin cabinet of the Patna Museum during the period, according to the consolidated report for the years 1935-36, 36-37 and 37-38 of the Coin Committees, published in the Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1938. A very large number of Muhammadan and non-muhammadan coins were added to the Bihar Coin Cabinet, Patna Museum, by presentation or purchase and a list is given in an appendix to the Annual Report mentioned above. It is stated that a separate descriptive list of the Machuatoli hoard would be published later as a supplement to the Annual Report. A paper on this hoard as well.

as on the Ramna (Patna) find has since been published by E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.) in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Dacca Museum: Besides 6 silver coins of Yasomānikya-deva of Tippera and the Queens Lakṣmīgaurī and Jayā, dated 1522 Śaka, and 1 silver coin of Rājādharmānikya of Tippera and Queen Satyavatī, dated 1508 Śaka, presented to it, the Dacca Museum did not acquire any other important coins during the year 1937-38.

The Rajputana Museum, Ajmere, acquired, during 1937-38, 51 silver and 16 copper coins, being coins of the Sultāns of Dehli and of the Mughal Emperors, with the exception of one coin each of Śivajī, of a Bahmani king and of a Peshwa (name not given) who struck a coin in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II.

It is to be regretted that museum reports generally furnish only statistics of coins acquired and very rarely information regarding any coins of special numismatic interest.

TREASURE TROVE REPORTS:

The following report has been received:

Triennial Report on Coins dealt with under the Treasure Trove Act for the years 1934-35, 1935-36 and 1936-37, published by the Central Provinces and Berar Government.

As many as forty six treasure trove finds are recorded in the report, comprising 78 gold, 826 silver and 177 copper coins, in all 1,081 coins, which were acquired by government under the Act. The coins included coins of Sultāns of Gujarāt, the Bahmani kings, Imadshāhī dynasty of Berar, kings of Vijayanagar, Emperors of Dehli and coins of William IV, Queen Victoria and even of King Edward VII. Barring 20 silver and 16 copper coins which were kept for sale at the Nagpur Museum, the remaining coins were distributed among various museums and Durbars. The latest find, that made in Bastar State, C.P., is later than the above Report and has been described in this Journal by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (*vide*: Gold coins of three kings of the Nala dynasty, pp. 29-35).

The Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, reports that 20 silver coins of the Sultāns of Bengal were found at Hanspukur, in the Kalna Sub-division of the Burdwan district, Bengal, and were acquired for the Indian Museum. The coins have been described by Maulavi Shamsuddin Ahmed

in this issue (*vide*: A Treasure-Trove Find of Silver Coins of the Bengal Sultāns, pp. 36-37).

The Curator of the Patna Museum refers to the find of antiquities in the course of building operations in the compound of the Imperial Bank, Patna Branch, the most remarkable being a copper band, 11" long, 1" wide and 1/10" thick with punch marks found on punch-marked coins. The band has been discussed in two articles contributed to the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (*vide*: *infra*).

TREASURE TROVE COINS FOR SALE:

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society forwards several lists of treasure trove coins available for sale at the Mint, Bombay. Besides 332 gold Fanams of Travancore of the 18th and 19th centuries, there are a number of silver and copper Mughal coins for sale as well as a gold coin of Sadāśivarāya of Vijyanagar and a silver coin of Bajirao II.

The Central Museum, Lahore, has for sale a number of gold *muhrs* of Shāh Jahān of Akbarābād mint besides a number of silver coins of Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II.

The Central Museum, Nagpur, has a number of silver punch-marked coins, coins of the Western Kṣtrapas and of Kṛṣṇa Rājā as well as a few Gadhiya coins for sale.

PATNA MUSEUM'S LOSS:

The Coin Room of the Patna Museum was burgled either on the night of the 27th April or in the early hours of the 28th April, 1939. As many as 502 gold coins and about 19 gold articles were found missing on the morning of the 28th April. The Gupta gold coins included the valuable collection of W. E. M. Campbell, in which the most important coin was the second known specimen of the Asvamedha coin of Kumāragupta I. The collection of the coins of the Sultāns of Dehli and of the Mughal Emperors was also large and important. Before this, gold coins had been stolen from other museums in India but a burglary on such a large scale had never been attempted. The coins have not been recovered so far. All museums in this country should take immediate steps to properly protect their coin collections. As surmised by the Bihar Government it is not unlikely that a gang with ramifications in several provinces is at work.

EXCAVATION OF RAMNAGAR:

After examining the merits of various well-known sites in North India, Sir Leonard Woolley, who was brought out by the Government of India to advise on Archæological work in India, has come to the conclusion that Rāmnagar, in the Bareilly district of the United Provinces, is the most likely to reward systematic and scientific excavation. It is understood that the excavation will be undertaken by the Archæological Department shortly. The choice of Rāmnagar is of considerable interest to numismatists as the site has for a very long time yielded ancient Indian coins as well as Kushan and Gupta coins and further rich finds likely to add to our knowledge of Indian numismatics may be expected.

ITEMS OF INTEREST FROM THE PERIODICALS:

British Museum Quarterly, Vol. XII, 1938, No. 4, mentions among recent acquisitions the gold coins acquired from Mr. H. Nelson Wright's collection (described by him in this Journal, vide: pp. 43-49).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXIV, 1938, Pts. I & II).

"Note on the Kosam coin of Bhavanāga." By E. H. C. Walsh.

Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 1938, Pt. III:

"Punch-marked copper band from Patna." By A. Banerji Sastri.

Ibid., Vol. XXV, 1939, Pt. I:

"Some notes on the punch-marked copper band found at Patna. By E. H. C. Walsh.

Ibid., Vol. XXV, 1939, Pt. II:

"Notes on two hoards of silver punch-marked coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machuatoli." By E. H. C. Walsh.

Indian Culture, Vol. V, 1938, No. 1:

"A new type of Andhra coin." By Sushil K. Bose.

Ibid., No. 2, 1938:

"Some Sunga coins—hitherto misread." By Miss Bhramar Ghosh.

Ibid., 1939, No. 4:

"Note on some punch-marked coins of Mysore Museum." By Adris Banerji.

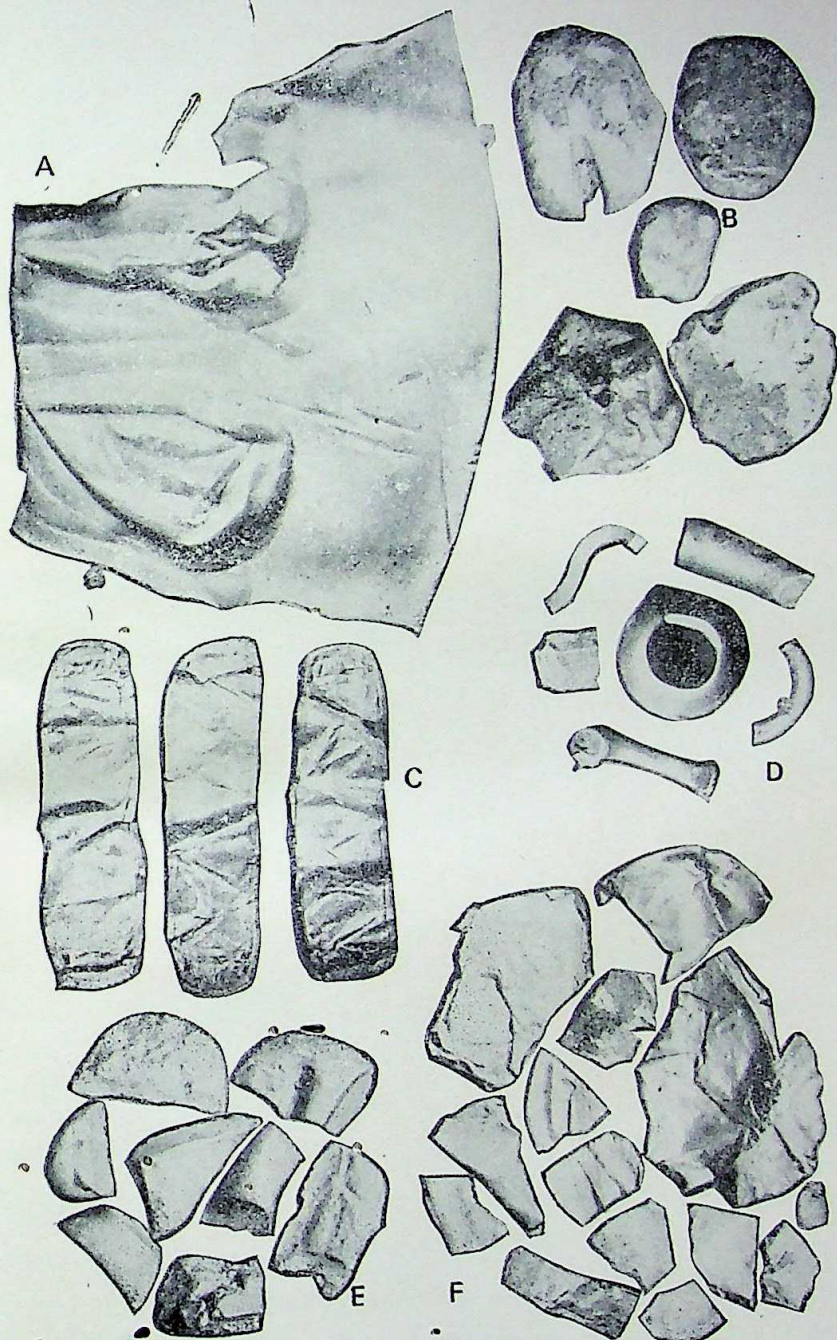
Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XI,
1938, Pt. I:

Ancient Indian coins as known to Pāṇini. By V. S.
Agrawala.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. I:

"Foreign denominations of ancient Indian coins." By S. K.
Chakraborty.

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BIJNOR HOARD

A
Class I



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Class II



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

Class III



Fig. 12

Symbols on one side
of the Punch-Marked Coins

B

Class I



1



2



3

Class II



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11

Class III



12

Punch-marked Coins

BIJNOR HOARD



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

A

Oblong Coins from Rajgir.



B



HUVISHKA



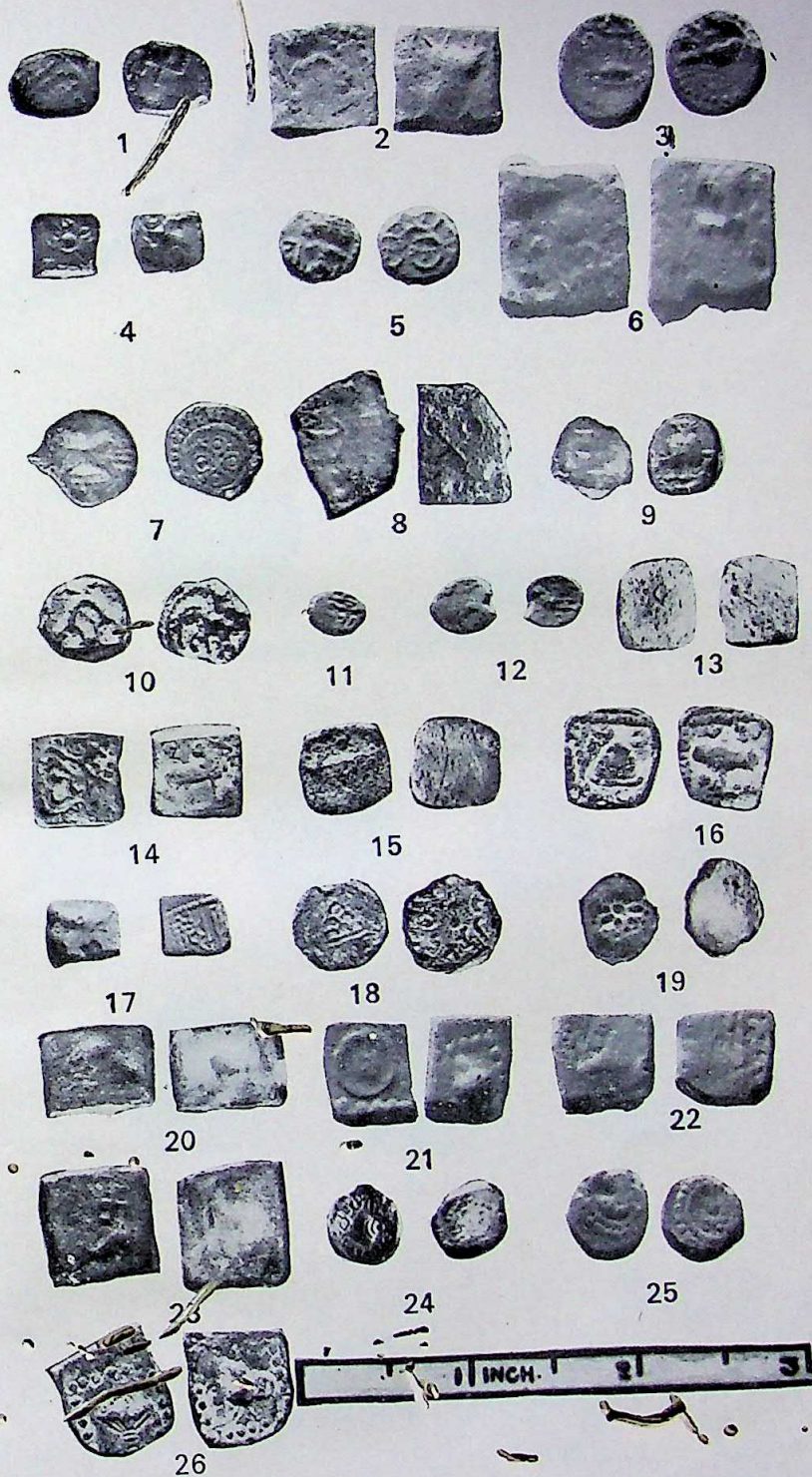
1



2



Coins of Jivadaman as Mahakshatrapa



COINS FROM BARODA



A



B



CHANDRA GUPTA II



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

C

COINS OF NALA DYNASTY.

II ATSUO ARDABO



COINS OF BENGAL SULTANS.



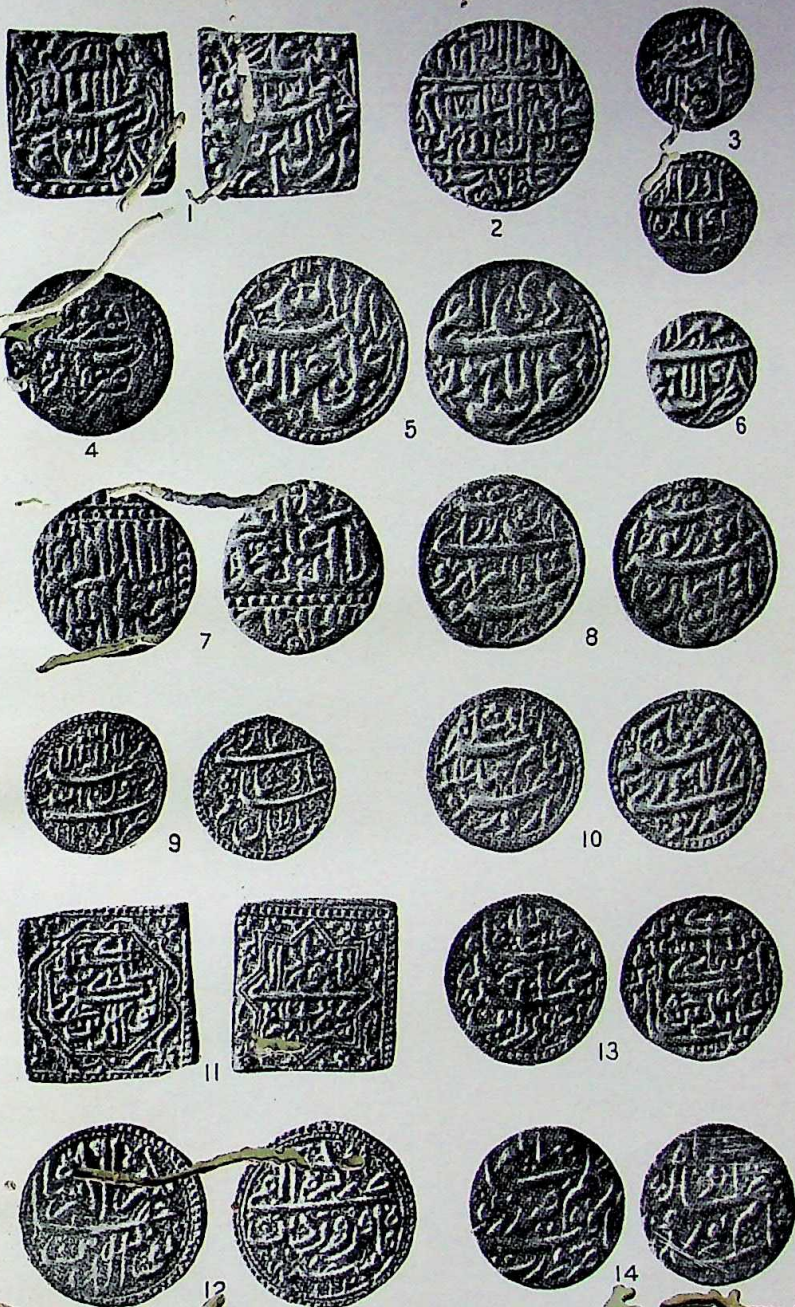
- A. MAHMUD SHAH KHILJI
- B. NIZAM SHAH BAHMANI
- C. MAHMUD SHAH BEGDA
- D. SHER SHAH SURI



SHAH JAHAN



F. OF PERSIS



THE GOLD COINS OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR



1



2



3



4



5



SASANIAN COINS



COINS OF THE SINDHIAS

11043



14



15



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26



COINS OF THE SINDHIAS II

Access en

class 10

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Tea etc

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Any Other

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